OCTOBER 1990 $3.50

California JOURNAL

INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

strict-by-district analysis

Wilson vs. Feinstein

Who will lead California in the 1990s?

PUBLIC SERVICE JOURNALISM 20th ANNIVERSARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

... It's right here

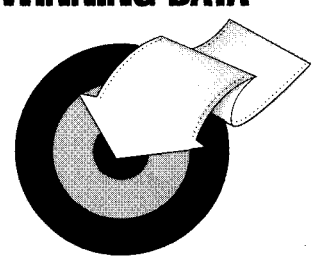
Winning Data can assist your campaign in targeting those voters most likely to vote in your election! Call us for your Targeting Reports, Walk Lists, Phone Lists, Mailing Labels and Polling Samples.

Our specialty is laser products:

- *Personalized variable text letters*
- *Vote by mail programs*
- *Get out the vote grams/letters*
- *Slate cards*

To place an order call Donna Patterson at (408) 492-9900

WINNING DATA



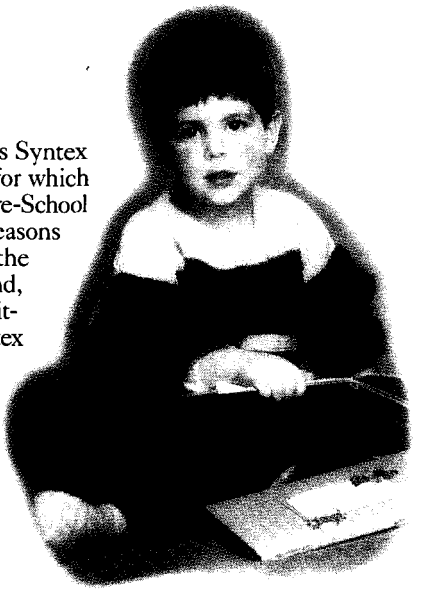
COMPUTERIZED POLITICAL PRODUCTS

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SYNTEX INVESTED $245 MILLION IN R&D. IN FISCAL 1989.

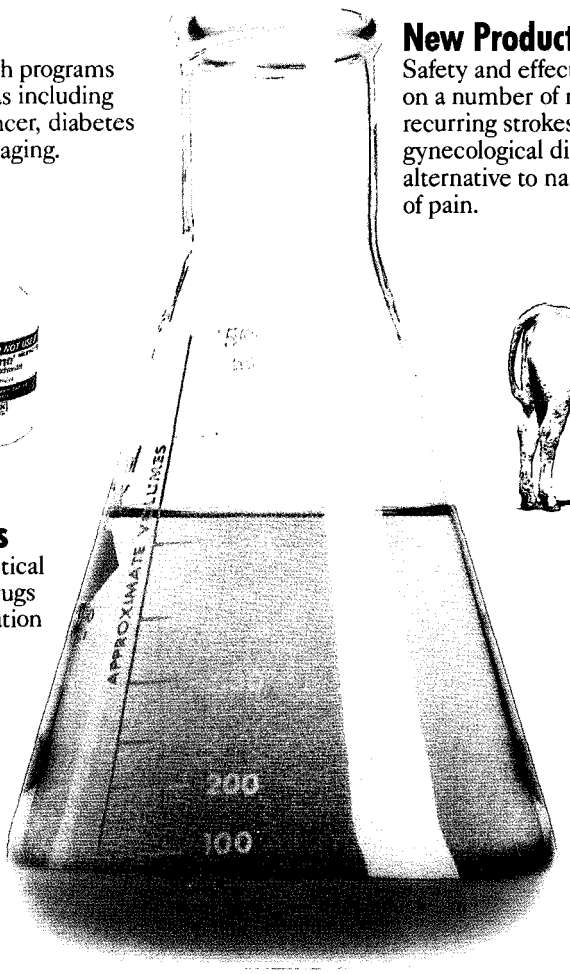
A Good Corporate Citizen

Working Mother magazine ranks Syntex among the top 10 companies for which women work. The Children's Pre-School Center was cited among the reasons Syntex is a leader in meeting the needs of working mothers. And, as an expression of our commitment to our communities, Syntex provides more than $3 million annually in corporate contributions, including numerous scholarships for those pursuing the life science studies.



Research

Syntex has major research programs under way in several areas including arthritis, heart disease, cancer, diabetes and the diseases of aging.

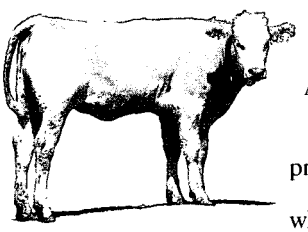


New Products

Safety and effectiveness studies have been concluded on a number of new products: one to prevent initial and recurring strokes, one to treat endometriosis, a painful gynecological disorder, and another which is a potent alternative to narcotics for short-term management of pain.

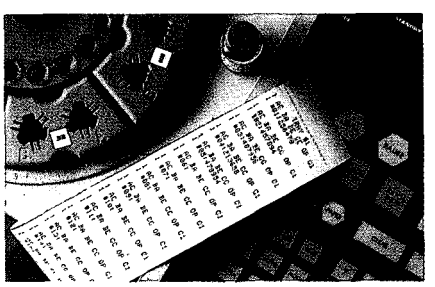
Human Pharmaceuticals

Syntex prescription pharmaceutical products for humans include drugs which relieve pain and inflammation due to arthritis and other conditions, oral contraceptives, agents for the treatment of eczema, dermatitis, and psoriasis, a medication for hay fever and allergies, drugs to treat angina and hypertension, and a product to treat a certain viral infection that causes blindness in AIDS and other immunocompromised patients.



Animal Health

Our Animal Health products help feed America through safe growth-promoting agents for food producing animals. We also make products which control parasites in cattle, sheep, and horses.



Diagnostics

Syva, our diagnostics company, manufactures tests that are used in 97% of the nation's drug testing laboratories which are certified by the National Institute of Drug Abuse. We have also developed tests for detecting sexually transmitted and other diseases.

Everything we do at Syntex is dedicated to improving the quality of life. Every day, Syntex products touch the lives of millions of Americans.

SYNTEX IS IN BUSINESS FOR LIFE.

SYNTEX
SYNTEX LABORATORIES, INC.
PALO ALTO, CA 94304

© 1990 Syntex Laboratories, Inc.
845-G2-108-89

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A QUESTION OF FOCUS

If you're having a little problem with all the bewildering fine print of the complicated child support game, maybe it's really just a question of focus.

The child support team at Lockheed IMS can help you put into focus the whirling kaleidoscope of child support and constantly changing regulations, policies, and responsibilities.

Focus is really what we offer clients.

We can help you **manage** change—help you stay ahead of the game. We can keep you ahead of shifting trends—put you in strategic command of all your opportunities.

Our focus is on child support—on your program and needs. How well we do is directly measured by your success.

In Lockheed IMS, all the resources of one of the world's largest corporations can be brought to bear in a concentrated way on effective solutions to your problems.

Lockheed IMS and Child Support: A unique focus: We see problems as possibilities.

Lockheed Information Management Services Company

A Subsidiary of Lockheed Corporation

Child Support Services

5120 W. Goldleaf Circle • Suite 200 • Los Angeles, California 90056 • (213) 290-6700

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OCTOBER 1990
VOLUME XXI, NUMBER 10

California JOURNAL

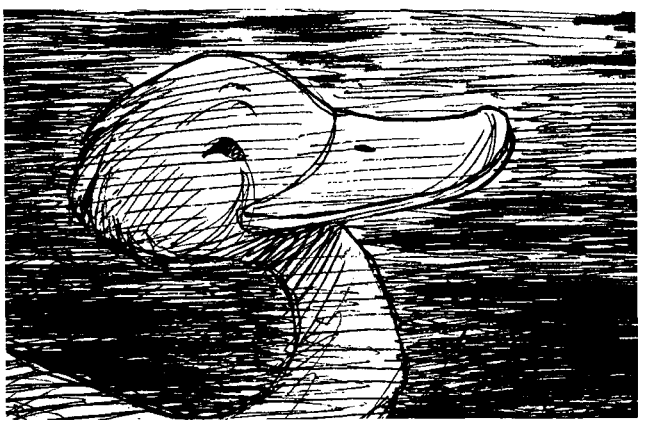
California Journal's election preview

Wilson vs. Feinstein 464
The campaign for governor is now in full swing, but the two gubernatorial candidates seem unable to focus on issues.
By Richard Zeiger

Floating around the issue 469
Dianne Feinstein and Pete Wilson have yet to define how they would handle California's growing water crisis. By Jim Mayer

Constitutional officers 473
A look at races for lieutenant governor, attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, controller, insurance commissioner and confirmations for the state Supreme Court.

Board of Equalization 476
One member of the Board was recently convicted of extortion and bribery. Will he be reelected anyway?



California Journal's
district-by-district analyses

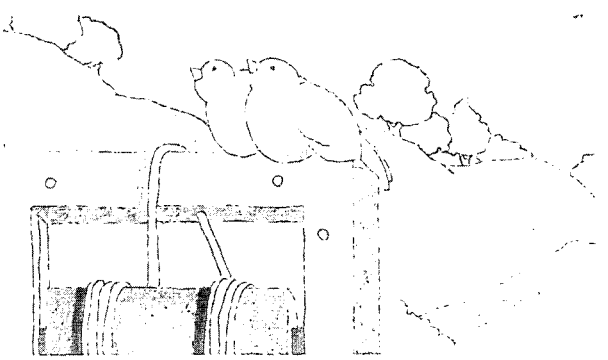
Congress 477
State Senate 480
Assembly 482

Props II 489
An analysis of bond measures placed on the November ballot by the Legislature (a supplement to ballot measures published in the September issue.)

Term limits 497
Term limits for elected officials are nothing new to California; several counties have had them in effect for years.
By Ed Bacciocco and Charles Price

Press coverage 503
When it comes to media coverage of elections, do newspapers make a difference in the outcome? By Walter Zelman

Up Front 462
Rostrum 500
Ballot Front 500
Washington Perspective 508



Cover art by Carol Wright

Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor,** Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor,** A.G. Block; **Business Manager,** Barbara Rocco; **Production Coordinator,** Roberta-Anne Kaminski; **Art Staff,** Renee Ravizza; **Staff,** Ellen Chapman, Michelle Mallory, Dori Meyers, Theresa Nelson, Jennifer Sabine, Hope Tuttle, Susan Uher; **Washington Correspondent,** Larry Liebert.

Advertising Representative: Media Marketing, (916) 452-3242

Member The Audit Bureau

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $49; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual rate, $32.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1990 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc. Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO CQ-MG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT

Spin control, CalTrans version. A special investigation set in motion by Governor George Deukmejian following the Bay Area earthquake last World Series concluded that the Department of Transportation (CalTrans) would have known that the East Bay's Nimitz Freeway was likely to buckle during a major quake had the department ever performed a complete seismic study of the double-decked highway. With its priorities elsewhere, CalTrans never ordered such a study. The Nimitz, of course, dropped its top deck onto its lower deck during the temblor, causing a number of deaths and a lot of expense.

"Earthquake engineering [by CalTrans] has been too little, too late," noted CalTech Professor George Housner, chairman of the 11-member Board of Inquiry.

Well, CalTrans translated the board's complaints into its own language recently, as reported in *Going Places*, the department's in-house organ:

"Like an undefeated prizefighter who rises from the canvas after being decked by a hard right hand, the Department of Transportation has rebounded from the devastating Loma Prieta earthquake with its reputation for quality work and engineering excellence intact. After a seven-month investigation, the governor's Board of Inquiry on the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake produced its findings that underscored the ability and competence of the department's engineering staff."

Term limits for elected officials seems to be *the* popular cause this November, as voters in several states and cities have the chance to send the ultimate message to their legislatures and city councils. Oklahomans voted two-to-one to clamp a 12-year service limit on its Legislature in September; Coloradans have the chance to do the same in November. Similar efforts are afoot in Illinois, Ohio, Florida and New York. Columnist Neal Pierce reports that there is even a constitutional amendment being considered to limit terms in the U.S. House of Representatives to 12 consecutive years. And a retired businessman from Florida, Jack Gargan, has formed what he calls a "grassroots organization" (T.H.R.O., or Throw the Hypocritical Rascals Out), which is running full-page ads in newspapers around the country, asking people to vote against every incumbent for every office and to send him money to fund a national organization with that idea as its goal and charter.

And then there is California, with two separate term-limit initiatives on its November ballot — Propositions 131 and 140. Incumbents, led by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, are preparing a fight-to-the-death over term limits. We can't wait to see and hear the media campaign they'll unleash on the public in order to wiggle around the two proposals. But Brown, Roberti, *et al*, can't be very comforted by the results of a recent *Sacramento Bee* poll: 74 percent of voters in Sacramento County like the idea of term limits, with only 9 percent undecided. Worse, nearly 70 percent of Democrats agree with it. Incumbents will need to resurrect the spirit of the late Nepalese mountaineer Tenzing Norkay to overcome voter sentiments, for they've an Everest out there to climb.

As is their wont, the legislative leadership this year produced a booklet that listed "significant legislation" passed during the two-year session. Actually, they usually take it year by year, but this past year was so bereft of significance that doubling up can be forgiven. Let us not forget that this was the year it took a record 29 days to produce a budget that, from the day it passed, set the stage for another budget

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crisis next year. Then there were the other failures: nothing done about the automobile insurance crisis; nothing done about the five million Californians who have no health insurance of any sort; and little done to ease the burdens of hard-pressed county governments. Oh well, it was an election year, and there was a lame-duck governor. Maybe we were expecting too much.

The second shoe fell in the ongoing FBI investigation of the state Legislature, and it hit the ground with a thud that should shake everyone in the state Capitol. The conviction of former Senator Paul Carpenter differed from that of Senator Joseph Montoya in a couple of significant respects. The FBI money Montoya took went into his pocket, but Carpenter put his into his campaign account. The Carpenter verdict thus shows that juries will convict even if there is no personal gain. In addition, Carpenter never voted for the FBI bill, but he did admit that he gave the undercover agents "access." If juries are willing to send legislators to jail for selling access for campaign contributions, then we doubt there is a single member of the Legislature who isn't guilty. Indeed, it has often been the proud defense of lawmakers that they *only* grant access for the contributions they get. Those contributions never affect their votes, these legislators say. Well it turns out now that juries may be inclined to make selling access a crime. And all those in the citizenry who haven't the money to buy a little access might be breathing a trifle easier.

"No man is justified in doing evil on the ground of expediency."
— Theodore Roosevelt

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

Advertisement

STATE NET®

Legislative & Regulatory Reporting

California's FIRST online legislative service brings you:

- the most advanced features
- full text of California and Congressional bills included with every service package
- a proven record of accuracy
- outstanding client support and training
- superior value

Go with the Leader!

Call today for a free demonstration or more information about the full range of State Net® services.

916/444-0840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILSON v. FEINSTEIN

A campaign without focus

By Richard Zeiger

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Has the novelty worn off of Dianne Feinstein?

Has she turned into just another candidate for governor?

And if she has, why would anyone vote for her over Pete Wilson?

Pete Wilson's campaign argues that the answer to the first two questions is most certainly "yes." Given this assumption, they figure that, as the campaign for governor comes into its final weeks, more and more voters will be answering the latter question in their favor.

If Wilson is right, it could eventually spell the end for the Feinstein comet. Much of her campaign has been built around the notion that the former San Francisco mayor is the "fresh face" that the state's Democrats, and the majority of its voters, have been seeking. Feinstein forces, of course, believe that Wilson is wrong; that their candidate has the star, and the staying power to win in November.

But as of Labor Day, when campaigns traditionally move into full swing, the two were dead-even in the political polls and a raft of voters remained uncommitted or willing to switch.

Furthermore, the campaign itself seemed to lack shape. Neither candidate had articulated a theme that would set him or her apart from the other. Instead, the two had spent the months since June locked in a mud bath where each flung accusations at the other, apparently hoping for a quick knockout.

Neither succeeded, and instead they seemed only to provoke a spate of campaign coverage complaining that, at a time when the state is facing an enormous array of unsolved problems, the campaigns had taken the low-road and virtually ignored the issues.

If there were no decisive blows

Continued on next page

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

struck in the initial rounds, Wilson apparently came out ahead on points. For one thing, he has managed to keep the Feinstein campaign exhausted financially.

Feinstein was forced to wage a major primary battle to beat Attorney General John Van de Kamp. That victory deflated her campaign coffers. Indeed, it probably would not have been possible if not for the $3 million provided by her husband, financier Richard Blum. Since then, Wilson, who had no opposition and millions in the bank, has launched a steady series of campaign commercials. And to each of these, Feinstein has felt the need to respond. She has been given no opportunity to store up money for a big push in the final days of the campaign.

In the first of these, Wilson attacked Feinstein for advocating what he said was a "quota" system for whom she intended to appoint to state policy-making posts. Rather than shrug off the attack, Feinstein — apparently heeding the lessons of the Dukakis presidential campaign and her own primary — felt obliged to respond. The response saw Feinstein on the defensive, arguing that she favored goals. In short, Feinstein reacted like any politician. The Wilson attack not only served that purpose, but also became a subtle reminder to Anglo voters that Wilson was the candidate who would defend their interests. Although the population of California is changing rapidly, Anglo voters still make up as much as 80 percent of the electorate. In addition, answering the charges forced Feinstein to spend money she could ill afford.

The Wilson camp also breathed a sigh of relief when Feinstein failed to come back on the air with an updated version of the campaign commercial that catapulted her into the lead in the Democratic primary. That message aired early in the campaign, and went unanswered by Van de Kamp. It showed Feinstein becoming mayor of San Francisco following the assassination of George Moscone and carried the theme that she was "tough but compassionate."

"I frankly thought she would come back with that or a version of it," said Wilson campaign director Otto Bos, "and try to capitalize on her star quality."

But the damage to Feinstein from the Wilson effort has been greater than just economic. It has, Wilson handlers believe, diminished Feinstein's aura as someone "special."

"At first glance, she looked like something different. Now she looks like just another politician," claimed Bos.

And the effect of that has been felt most strongly among women voters, Bos believes. Feinstein initially enjoyed a wide lead among the state's women which carried through the primary, despite the fact that Van de Kamp had a better record on traditional women's issues.

But a late-August *Los Angeles Times* poll showed that her advantage had dissolved, although she remained ahead among women voters in a California Poll released about the same time. Bos believes that women were the most disappointed to find that Feinstein was "just another politician." He notes that women usually referred to her by her first name, Dianne, but called Wilson by has last name.

"When you have that kind of personal connection, the disappointment is even greater," Bos said.

The Feinstein campaign was totally on the defensive during the early going, but even the one exchange she

Advertisement

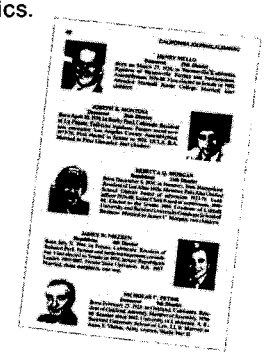
Almanac of California Government & Politics

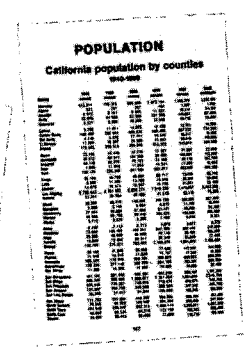
Special Discount: Save 22 Percent!

"Simply indispensable" — *Los Angeles Times*

This seventh edition of California Journal's **Almanac of California Government and Politics** contains 192 pages packed with up-to-date facts, figures and information on every aspect of California government and politics. **Included are:**

- **biographies of all state elected and top appointed officials;**
- **historic and recent election results;**
- **executive branch organization and phone numbers;**
- **Senate and Assembly district maps;**
- **judicial organization and names;**
- **congressional biographies, district maps, etc.;**
- **state budget summaries;**
- **higher education leaders and colleges;**
- **population information for the state, cities and counties;**
- **and much, much more.**





This vital reference should be on the desk of every person interested in California's government, demography, institutions and politics.

The **Almanac** was $8.95. Now pay only $6.95 plus 6.75 percent sales tax and $2.50 shipping and handling. And if you order 10 or more copies, the price is only $6.00 each, plus tax.

Orders must be prepaid by check, MasterCard or VISA number. Send orders to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

began ended poorly for her and, in fact, opened a nagging question about her husband's business dealings that is continuing to plague her.

Feinstein went on the attack with a commercial about Wilson's ties to the savings-and-loan industry. A Common Cause study showed that Wilson had received more money from that industry than any member of Congress. But there was no evidence that Wilson had ever done anything substantial to aid faltering savings firms. Although Feinstein distributed to the press a thick binder full of letters Wilson had written on behalf of industry officials, these turned out to be primarily form letters of the type that would be generated on behalf of any constituent.

Furthermore, it turned out that Feinstein herself was vulnerable on the same subject. Her husband had put together a group that had bought out a failing savings bank, collecting a $350,000 fee in the process and acquiring a small ownership percentage in the business. Although there is also no evidence that Blum did anything improper, the deal allowed Wilson to deflect the immediate charges.

Feinstein's ploy served as an opening for inquiry into the entire subject of Blum's financial dealings. Blum makes his living by investing other people's money, collecting a fee in the process. In addition, he often puts his own money into the deal. At first he declined to list his individual clients, saying they had a right to privacy (although he did reveal his corporate clients). But eventually the pressure proved too great, and the list of individuals was revealed, too.

Although there was nothing shocking in the list, it created fodder for journalists, and since then there has been a steady trickle of stories speculating about the propriety of this or that business deal.

There was risk for Wilson in attacking Blum. The senator's campaign was concerned that, by attacking Feinstein's husband, it would appear that the campaign had taken a sexist turn. But because the original subject — savings and loans — had been broached by Feinstein, it seems to have made the issue fair game.

The relevance of the attacks on Blum have also been increased by his deep involvement in the Feinstein campaign. Not only is he her principle financial backer, but he is also her chief campaign advisor as well.

Since Labor Day, however, both campaigns have become less overtly nasty, and there has even been some discussion of the issues, although these have tended toward the predictable and away from the difficult.

Each candidate has sought to reinforce his or her law-enforcement credentials, Wilson by touting his support of the victim's bill of rights initiative from last June's election and Feinstein by voicing her support for a measure on the November ballot that will boost state law-enforcement efforts by raising the state sales tax by a half-cent. Feinstein was a late convert to the June measure, put off by assertions that the measure could hamper abortion rights, and Wilson opposes the November measure because of the tax increase.

The two have also dueled for support from the environmental community, and here they are divided by their positions on Proposition 128, called "Big Green" by its supporters — Feinstein belatedly supported it; Wilson is opposed. Nonetheless, Wilson, who has had good support from environmentalists in the past, scored something of a coup by securing the endorsement of the Friends of the Riv-

Advertisement

A STANDARD & POOR'S MUNICIPAL DEBT RATING TELLS BOND BUYERS WHO YOU ARE.

Investors know that when Standard & Poor's assigns your issue a Municipal Debt Rating, it's the end result of in-depth research, and continuing communication between our analysts and you.

They know our analysts have carefully considered your area's economic problems and possibilities...current debt ratio...financial position...your administration's stability and experience...the specific terms and obligations of the individual issue...and your area's needs.

So they know they can rely on S&P's evaluation of your credit worthiness.

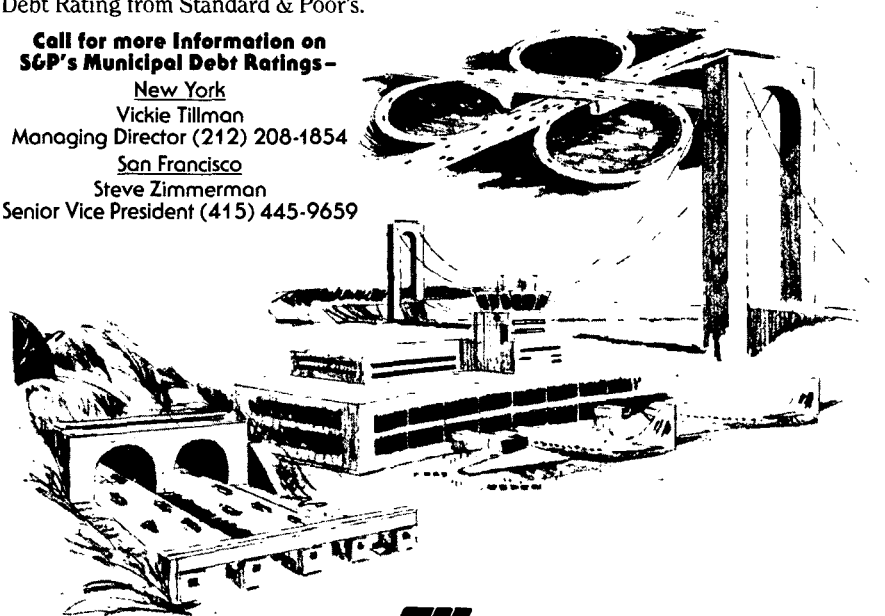
Which is why bond buyers look for S&P's Municipal Debt Ratings before they buy...and why so many thousands of issuers request them.

And it's why next time you bring an issue to market, you should make sure it has a Municipal Debt Rating from Standard & Poor's.

Call for more Information on S&P's Municipal Debt Ratings–

New York
Vickie Tillman
Managing Director (212) 208-1854

San Francisco
Steve Zimmerman
Senior Vice President (415) 445-9659



STANDARD & POOR'S CORPORATION
25 Broadway, New York, NY 10004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertisement

California Journal SEMINARS

- *Legislative process*
- *State budget process*
- *Rules and Regulations* ...
  (Many new laws get converted into regulations. Learn how that process works — and how to work the process.)
- *Bill tracking and analysis*
- *Committee procedure and the art of testifying*
- *Advocacy* — how to win
- *State Agencies* — organization, structure and process
- *Bill analysis workshop*
  (an intense, 1/2 day program for busy professionals)

Look What's New

MEDIA MANAGEMENT
and The Legislative Process
Oct. 26, 1990

ELECTION POST-MORTEM
and ANALYSIS
Nov. 9, 1990

BETWEEN COMMITTEE and FLOOR
how to preserve hard-won success in committee
Nov. 15, 1990

CONGRESSIONAL
PROCEDURE
(early December)

SCHEDULE

Oct. 12	**Bill Tracking and Analysis**	Sacramento
Oct. 18	**State Budget Process**	Sacramento
Oct. 19	**Rules and Regulations**	Sacramento
Oct. 26	**Media Management**	Sacramento
Nov. 9	**Election Post-Mortem**	Sacramento
Nov. 15	**Between Committee & Floor**	Sacramento

For SCHEDULE INFORMATION or to be placed on our mailing list, contact **ROD TUTTLE** at 916/444-2840.

er. He tried mightily to get the Sierra Club and it's 200,000 members to stay neutral, but failed.

Abortion has not become a question since both candidates favor retaining abortion rights for women.

State finances are another matter. Despite the fact that the state Legislature was stalemated for 29 days before it could pass a state budget — and then approved one that will surely set the stage for turmoil next year — neither candidate has had much to say about state finances.

Feinstein is perhaps shy of the issue because she has been charged with leaving San Francisco with a budget shortfall when she departed. Wilson may not be anxious to approach the issue either because he, like Feinstein, has proposed a series of new programs from health care to law enforcement that will require money to finance. Although Wilson has not made the mistake of his Republican colleague in the White House by pledging not to raise taxes, neither does he relish being questioned too closely on the subject.

Wilson says he wants "budgetary reforms," such as those advocated by Governor Deukmejian, before he will even think about tax increases. But when pushed, Wilson says that, should a tax increase become necessary, he prefers what he calls "taxes on consumption." In California, that means the state sales tax. Wilson does not believe this tax is regressive, if there are appropriate exemptions like those for food and medicine which already exist in California.

Later this month, Feinstein and Wilson will face each other in a pair of debates. The format, a compromise between the two camps, calls for half the questions to come from a panel of journalists and the other half with the candidates fencing face-to-face. Both sides claim to be looking forward to the event. Feinstein's camp believes that the debates will give their candidate the chance to reexert her "star quality." And there is still the lingering feeling that Wilson continues to appear a little dull to most California voters.

Wilson's backers counter with the reminder of how well their candidate did debating former Governor Jerry Brown in the 1982 U.S. Senate race, and they believe Feinstein will be equally surprised by the results. For Feinstein, the debates will also give her a chance to display her command of the issues and to prove she is not afraid of situations where she may face tough questioning.

The suspicion has been growing in the political press that Feinstein has been dodging in-depth interviews or other events where this weakness could be probed. Despite seven weeks notice, for example, her campaign maintained she had no time for an interview with the *California Journal* that was to focus on state issues rather than on the campaign.

But campaigns in California have rarely been won based on the candidate's expertise when it comes to governmental issues. With the debates, Feinstein may have a chance to display the charisma that brought her through the primary. If that should happen, she stands a good chance of winning in November.

After all, California has a long tradition of voting for candidates — either from the left or from the right — who look new, different or exciting. From Ronald Reagan through Jerry Brown, the state's voters have been willing to give something new a try. Indeed the major exception to this rule is the current Governor, George Deukmejian, who may have hit a moment when voters were tired of novelty.

But if Feinstein can't rekindle the fire, the advantage goes back to Wilson, who wields the other significant California campaign weapon: the ability to swamp your opponent in campaign commercials.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA'S WATER CRISIS

Candidates float around the issues

By Jim Mayer

If Dianne Feinstein and Pete Wilson have any luck about them, election day will be miserable. Every one of the state's 24,400 precincts will be besieged with cold, wet weather that will persist for a month after the winner officially moves to Sacramento in January.

If the victor is even luckier, the next four years, maybe even eight, will be those elusive "normal" years in California's erratic weather diet. Such fortuitous meteorology would enable the next governor to leave the politically cannibalistic issue of water in the same box, on the same closet floor, where Governor George Deukmejian stuck it in 1984, having lost his bid to ship more water through the Delta to his home turf — Southern California.

But among water officials and conservationists — both losers in the decade-long stalemate over the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta and other water controversies — there is this hidden masochistic hope that the drought will continue just long enough for California's water problem to become unavoidable — hope that the drought will become something more than a thorny campaign issue; something that the next governor will champion before the euphoria of victory ferments into political grudges.

"We cannot avoid the water issue any longer," said Carl Boronkay, manager of the giant Metropolitan Water District of Southern California. "We have lived too long on the margin of reliability created by predecessors."

No matter on which bank one stands — with the coalition of water developers and big users, or with conservationists frustrated by development's environmental consequences — the margin is eroding away.

MWD's demand curve is rising faster that anyone expected, in part because the city of Los Angeles is losing its take from Mono Lake and so is relying more on its contracts with Metropolitan. But growth alone is haunting water officials for not finishing the overcommitted State Water Project that delivers Northern California water through the Sacramento-San Jaoquin River Delta to points south.

The federal Environmental Protection Agency is formulating water-quality standards that will make murky Delta water extremely expensive to treat, adding to the reasons for making dramatic changes to the estuary that provides

---

Jim Mayer writes about water issues for The Sacramento Bee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

water to two out of three Californians and irrigates much of the San Joaquin Valley.

For environmentalists, a good offense has not turned into a good defense. Winter-run chinook salmon have been declared an endangered species, with fewer than 600 returning annually from the sea to spawn in the Sacramento River. Reproduction of striped bass in the Delta is at the lowest point in history.

And conservationists now see hope in thwarting further diversions from the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta — diversions they blame for wide-ranging environmental damage — by securing endangered-species protections for Delta smelt, a small fish that lives only in the Delta and that few people even know exists. But that, too, would be a shallow victory because to preserve the status quo of the Delta is to preserve a state of decline.

While the decline predated Deukmejian, little has been done during the last eight years to reverse it, or to even slow the degrading health of the ecosystem and the diminishing reliability of the water system.

"If the history of water were written, Deukmejian wouldn't even merit a footnote. He accomplished nothing," said Gerald Meral, assistant director of water resources for former Governor Jerry Brown and now director of the Planning and Conservation League.

Others are more charitable in their assessment of the administration. Assemblyman Phil Isenberg, a Sacramento Democrat, says at least Deukmejian stayed out of the way so some progress could be made on water transfers and Delta levee improvements.

Carl Pope, conservation director of the Sierra Club, said, "On water policy, Deukmejian avoided making big mistakes, and that may have been the thing to do in the '80s. But," he added, "we need to go beyond that in the next decade."

Despite the nearly universal criticism of the hydrophobic governor, Deukmejian's director of water resources, David Kennedy, is praised by players on both sides.

"Kennedy," MWD's Boronkay said, "did the best he could under the political circumstances."

Many believe Kennedy's greatest accomplishment has been the intangible progress toward compromise, building consensus among water warriors, crafting treaties rather than counting coups. That, and eight healing years since the fractious Peripheral Canal vote, provides some hope that the time is right for significant compromises to be made.

"The issues are solvable," said David Schuster, a one-time U.S. Bureau of Reclamation official, former head of the State Water Contractors Association and now a private consultant. "The majority of the water people and the majority of the people who care about the environment are tired of losing all of the time."

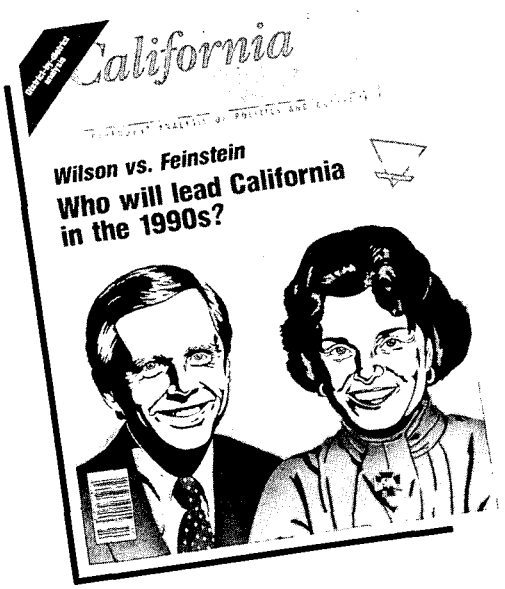
But even with the two sides talking truce, Schuster and others said the process must be legitimized — indeed championed — by the next governor in order to break the deadlock. "It could happen," Schuster said, "but it will take leadership."

Most of the players see potential in both candidates. Both, expected to huddle toward the middle, risk alienating the fringe with the hope of securing the support of those forced to the middle by a decade of stagnation.

"Each is capable of opening the door and creating trust," Boronkay said. "If they read that the major players

Advertisement

California's Opinion Leaders Agree:



Senators, assemblymembers, the governor, city council members, county supervisors, top administrative and legislative aides agree: *California Journal* is required reading for state and local leaders in California.

When you want to reach the people who decide the future of California, the *Journal* is *the* place to be.

For advertising information contact Jeff Wichmann or Marty Small at Media Marketing, 916/ 452-3242.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are heading here, that enhances the likelihood of them taking a leadership position."

Or as Schuster said: "They have both showed some signs about caring for the environment and they have not told the development people to go to hell."

For now, both candidates are treating the issue with the caution it deserves, talking in generalities, drawing no bridges.

Wilson's position paper embraces cooperation, and an "environmental ethic" that strives to meet growing demand through water conservation and reuse, banking water underground in wet years and pumping more in dry years. Wilson also supports a plan to pump more water from the Delta each winter to be stored in a new reservoir in the hills near Los Banos — a plan that Kennedy has tirelessly, but not yet successfully, pushed through a quagmire of environmental reviews.

Feinstein was forced in the Democratic primary to respond more directly to the issue. But like Wilson, the embryo of her water policy is based on general endorsements of conservation, protection of water quality, and promotion of voluntary water trades from low-value uses to high-value uses.

As both candidates stand on slippery rocks in the middle of the stream, the players on both shores of the debate are seeking campaign promises in exchange for public endorsements. Not only do the two sides want to pin the candidates down, but consider the topic an indicator of their larger political philosophies.

"Water as an issue has a lot of emotional resonance," Pope said. "It says which side you are on."

Feinstein has so far eagerly responded to the prodding of conservationists, pledging to vigilantly protect the San Francisco Bay and Delta from the threats of additional water diversions. But she also said during the primary that she hadn't ruled out a Peripheral Canal around the Delta. Wilson's more general responses make conservationists nervous about the Republican candidate.

Meanwhile, the Association of California Water Agencies has adopted a different plan. The influential group is putting together the evidence to show two major risks: that an earthquake could shake Delta levees to the knees, allowing seawater to contaminate southbound aqueducts; that even in normal years Delta water quality is substandard; and that unless something is done, the Delta fishery is doomed.

The conclusion, said Greg Wilkinson, a water attorney with the Riverside firm of Best, Best and Krieger and head of ACWA's strategy committee, is "The Delta is really a lousy plumbing system."

While these notions, and the ability to divert still more water south, are all arguments for a canal bypassing the Delta, Wilkinson said: "We're not going to say build a Peripheral Canal." Instead, ACWA will listen for the candidates' response to what they see as California's most pressing water problem.

The Delta, where conservationists and northerners drew the line on water development by rejecting the Peripheral Canal in 1982, remains the weak link.

The Peripheral Canal remains the engineering fix of choice. But the same alliance of opponents still fear that the canal, or any major changes to the estuary's plumbing, will create a freshwater freeway that drains the lifeblood out of the Bay and Delta.

The drought, however, may change that.

Boronkay is quick to point out that Santa Clara County, which buys both federal and state water from the Delta, has had to ration water for the last three years. The rest of the Bay area likewise has been under a greater crunch than most of Southern California. Even Contra Costa County Supervisor Sunne McPeak, the St. George of the Peripheral Canal debate, concedes she is concerned that the unity of the north and the passivity of the south are both waning.

In some ways, geography is being replaced by philosophy.

The middle ground is the formula approach that the candidates have been quick to seize as their own. River-drowning dams of the past have been replaced by plans for more benign offstream reservoirs; underground water banks, conservation and reclamation of sewage water would all stretch supplies.

But there is still an inbred preference that defines the two camps. The dividing line is whether one believes more water will have to be developed, or whether existing supplies should be better managed.

It is a difference that the next governor may find every bit as difficult as the north-south debate of the past.

Boronkay, with MWD, said: "Having people say, 'That jerk built a dam and it turned out we didn't need it,' is a hell of a lot better epitaph than, 'That jerk failed to build a dam and it hurt our economy and our lifestyle, jobs were lost and farms went out of business.'"

Pope, with Sierra Club, said: "The crucial question is whether the candidate would put in place pricing and conservation reforms that are designed to decrease the new withdrawal that agriculture and urban areas make from rivers and streams.

"Is that their first policy choice or their last policy choice?" he asks.

Advertisement

NEW ISSUE

AUGUST 23, 1990

$15,849,900
Appreciating to
$22,000,000

SAN GABRIEL VALLEY
SCHOOLS FINANCING AUTHORITY

1990 CAPITAL APPRECIATION
LEASE REVENUE BONDS
Pomona Unified School District Future
School Sites Acquistion Program

The undersigned served as financial advisor to the Authority and the District.

DALE SCOTT & COMPANY INC.

400 Montgomery Street, Suite 805
San Francisco, California 94104
Tel. 415.956.1030

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENJOY AN EVENING IN BRAZIL

GET AWAY FROM A CHILLY NOVEMBER EVENING.
SPEND IT IN SIZZLING HOT BRAZIL!

12th Annual Multiple Sclerosis Honor Ball

Friday, November 16, 1990
Sacramento Community/Convention Center
Metropolitan Room
Seven O'Clock p.m.
Black Tie or Festive Attire
Tickets: $100 per person
Sponsorships: $7,500 (Gold)
$5,000 (Silver)
$2,500 (Bronze)
$1,000 (Table Host)

It's a Mardi Gras — and more! Enjoy gourmet dining, a Carnival Fashion Extravaganza, Big Band dancing — all to benefit the programs and services of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, through its Mountain Valley California Chapter.

Be part of one of the Capital City's best-attended charity balls!

*Please call (916) 486-8981 for ticket and sponsorship information.

NATIONAL MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS SOCIETY

Sponsored in part by:
ARCO
The Sacramento Bee
Mallador, Inc.
Northern Video Systems
Phillip Morris
R. J. Reynolds
Anheuser Busch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constitutional Offices

Election 1990

Lt. Governor

Leo McCarthy

Marian Bergeson

Republican Senator Marian Bergeson late last month held a $500-per-napkin dinner in an effort to raise money for her campaign to unseat Democrat Leo McCarthy as the state's lieutenant governor. Appropriately, the main attraction was Vice President Dan Quayle.

The trouble with running for this post is that the lieutenant governor has few established duties, and at least some of those that go with the post by tradition are never exercised. The lieutenant governor, for example, presides over the state Senate, but by tradition sets foot there only on ceremonial occasions. In addition, he or she would cast a vote in case of a tie, although Senate rules make such an event highly unlikely. The lieutenant governor also fills in for the governor when the governor is out of the state, although in fact there is little to do then, except in case of an emergency.

As a result, it's tough to get anybody too worked up over the campaign.

In this case, that's too bad because running for this office are two capable and qualified people who have distinctly different philosophies of government.

McCarthy, former speaker of the Assembly and holder of the lieutenant governor's post for the last eight years under Republican George Deukmejian, is energetic and intelligent. He has managed to make as much as possible out of the job by launching studies into women in the work place, nursing homes and off-shore oil spills. He has also managed to avoid the difficulties of his predecessor — Republican Mike Curb — who annoyed the electorate by actually trying to exercise the powers of governor when the real governor, Democrat Jerry Brown, was out of state. Curb appointed a judge, only to have Brown return and rescind the appointment.

Bergeson, too, has built a commendable record, first in the Assembly and then in the Senate. In both houses she has been a hard worker who has been willing to compromise with the majority Democrats in order to see her legislation pass. Her cooperative attitude has been rewarded; she is the only Republican who heads a standing committee.

The two differ on many questions, including women's abortion rights (McCarthy is in favor, Bergeson opposed), and how to finance new crime-prevention programs (McCarthy is sponsor of a half-cent sales tax increase on the November ballot, Bergeson wants to use existing resources).

But the days when a candidate for lieutenant governor would just snuggle up to his or her party's nominee for governor are long gone, if only because the voters for the last dozen years have chosen someone from the opposite party. And because the office has such a low profile, in order to make any sort of mark on the electorate, candidates have to do something dramatic. As a result, Bergeson and McCarthy have both resorted to trying to point out the flaws in each other. It isn't a pretty sight, but fortunately there are so many other races with higher profiles that most voters probably won't notice. Given that, current political polls show that voters seemed disinclined to turn out the incumbent. It will be an uphill fight for Bergeson.

Attorney General

The office of attorney general, probably the second most important statewide office, is up for grabs because the current holder of the job, John Van de Kamp, tried unsuccessfully to become governor.

Republicans early gathered around attorney Dan Lungren as their party's choice. Lungren, a former congressman

Dan Lungren

Arlo Smith

from Orange County, had been appointed state treasurer by Governor George Deukmejian after the death of Jesse Unruh. But Senate Democrats found Lungren too political and worried that he might prove too popular. So they rejected the governor's choice. But that rejection gave Lungren the opportunity to turn his attention to the attorney general's job, which is probably more suited to his interests.

Democrats, though, had a contested primary, and the early front runner was Los Angeles District Attorney Ira Reiner. With far better name identification and much more money to spend, Reiner's nomination looked easy. But Reiner was dogged during the primary by the McMartin child-abuse cases, and that left room for his opponent, San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith, to wage a determined campaign. Although short on money, Smith was everywhere during the primary, even appearing on a series of debates with Lungren in which Reiner declined to participate. He won the primary through sheer hard work.

But in the general election Smith faces some substantial handicaps. Lungren is glib and telegenic and even Smith's campaign manager has been quoted as saying his candidate is "bald and inarticulate." He has also been hampered by a couple of questionable decisions made while he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was district attorney, including the quickly-dismissed prosecution of some Sacramento developers, who want to bring professional baseball to the state capital, for opposing construction of a new ballpark in downtown San Francisco. Smith was accused of starting the prosecution for political purposes and at the urging of San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos, who was miffed that the ballpark proposal was defeated.

Lungren, too, is not without liabilities. For one, he has no experience as a prosecutor. For another, he is anti-abortion in a state where polls show voters overwhelmingly favor protecting women's abortion rights. Lungren probably will have more money available to his campaign, and he has aired more television commercials to date. These, though, have been slashing attacks on Smith, and at least one was roundly criticized in the media as unfair to Smith. It was later modified.

A late-August California Poll gave Lungren a slight edge in the race, but nearly half the voters were still undecided. Barring some devastating mistake on the part of one of the candidates, this is a contest that is likely to go to the candidate who can raise the most money for television, which probably gives a slight edge to Lungren.

Treasurer

The race for state treasurer gives voters an interesting choice: Do they value technical expertise, or do they value political leadership?

In this race to elect a sucessor to the late Jesse Unruh, both candidates are intelligent, attractive and articulate. Yet each has a very different vision of what the job entails.

Republican Tom Hayes was appointed to the job by Governor George Deukmejian after the governor's first pick, then-Congressman Dan Lungren, was rejected by the state Senate as too political. That certainly could not be said of Hayes, who was the state's auditor general, appointed to the post by the Legislature itself. Until his appointment, Hayes had even refused to join a political party.

Universally respected for his independence and fairness, Hayes has taken a hands-on approach to the treasurer's task of investing idle state money by arriving early most days in order to personally cut deals for short-term investments. He claims to have boosted the amount the state is making from these investments. In addition, Hayes has counseled prudence in the use of the long-term bonds to finance state projects, warning voters that they could harm the state's perfect bond rating if they continue to promiscuously approve bond measures.

Hayes has picked up some of Deukmejian's campaign apparatus to run his own election, including former press aide Donna Lucas as campaign manager. But he has insisted that he will be elected because voters want a "financial manager" as treasurer, not a politician.

Democrat Kathleen Brown, in contrast, is campaigning on the notion that Hayes has failed to provide important leadership that is needed in the post. Brown, of course, is the sister of one former governor, Jerry Brown, and the daughter of another, Pat Brown.

Brown believes that Hayes has not moved fast enough to sell those bonds that have already been authorized by voters and has criticized him for his cautious approach when selling school bonds. Brown says the state should sell these bonds, banking the money until individual projects can be approved. That way the state can earn interest on the money until it's needed. Hayes, however, resisted that notion, saying federal law prohibited that sort of activity.

Brown also says she would be more of an activist when it comes to dealing with the corporations in which the state's retirement funds invests. She would do more to see that these companies took socially responsible actions using the state's enormous investment clout as an incentive. Hayes, in contrast, says that in general such decisions should be left to company management and that the state only should be concerned with long-term profits on the money it invests on behalf of retired state employees, past and future.

Kathleen Brown

Tom Hayes

Hayes had a challenge in the primary from Angela "Bay" Buchanan, a feisty conservative who had been U.S. treasurer under Ronald Reagan and is the sister of conservative columnist Pat Buchanan. As a result, Hayes had to spend much of the money he had raised during the primary season. Brown's challenge from Compton municipal treasurer Wesley Sanders was much more modest, and Brown did not spend any money on television before the primary.

But bland or not, Hayes has hired Republican media guru Roger Ailes to prepare his television. Ailes, who has a reputation for producing cutting, negative spots and the quotable phrase, has been referring to Brown as "Sister Moonbeam," a way of reinforcing her ties to the more unpopular of her gubernatorial relatives.

The early polls gave Brown a six or seven point lead over Hayes, but the contest is close enough that most anything could happen before election day.

Secretary of State

Every four years or so some bright, attractive Republican files to run against March Fong Eu for secretary of state, thinking he or she can generate a little publicity that might be useful down the line. Or maybe they think that perhaps this will be the year when voters for some reason unknown will decide they've had enough of the good-natured Eu.

This time around, the Republican is Los Angeles City Council member Joan Milke Flores.

Flores has tried to rouse interest in the campaign. She's complained that Eu isn't involved enough in the job — even passed out "Where are Eu" buttons — and she's complained that the incumbent isn't aggressive enough in fining people for filing campaign statements late.

And just maybe the voters are little upset because Eu tried to run for the U.S. Senate two years ago, but got nowhere.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

March Fong Eu

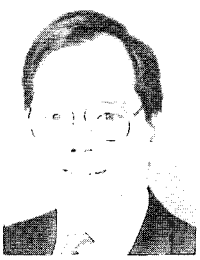
Joan Milke Flores

Voters in the past have never really cared about issues and negatives associated with Eu; she's been elected to the job four times already. And, whoops, what's this? The polls have her ahead by 35 points? Well, maybe Flores will want to run for something else one day.

Controller

State Controller Gray Davis flirted for awhile with the notion of seeking the Democratic nomination for governor.

Gray Davis



Matt Fong

He raised a lot of money — a political chore at which he excels — and then decided to stay put.

As a result, he's in a position to swamp Republican challenger Matt Fong, should the need arise. Fong is a bright young man whose principal claim to fame is that he is the son of Secretary of State March Fong Eu. Republicans like the cute irony of having Fong on the ballot even though his mother is a Democrat, and nobody with a greater claim to statewide office wanted to bash himself or herself against Davis' bank account.

Unless there is some turn in the polls, where Davis has nearly a two-to-one lead, or Fong comes across some untapped source of money for television ads, Davis can probably keep most of those riches in the bank, holding on to them for the run for higher office that he would like to make one day.

Supreme Court

Remember the hottest, most controversial race of November 1986? It certainly wasn't the George Deukmejian-Tom Bradley rematch for governor. Nor was it the Alan Cranston-Ed Zschau cliffhanger for U.S. Senate.

No, the hottest race of 1986 was a confirmation vote involving three controversial members of the California Supreme Court — Chief Justice Rose Bird and associate justices Joseph Grodin and Cruz Reynoso. Conservatives made the defeat of Bird and her colleagues a crusade, with implementation of the death penalty as their banner. All three justices were soundly rejected; three other justices (Stanley Mosk, Malcolm Lucas and Edward Panelli) were confirmed.

Well, another Court confirmation vote is coming up, with five Deukmejian-appointed justices on the November ballot. And California has yet to put an inmate to death in San Quentin's gas chamber. But no one has raised a hue and cry against members of the state Supreme Court. Few voters are even unaware of the election — a stark contrast with Bird's confirmation rumble four years ago which dominated news coverage of the Court for the better part of two years leading up to the election.

Supreme Court justices are appointed to office by the governor, but they must seek the approval of voters as well under a provision of the State Constitution adopted in 1934. A Court term runs 12 years, and justices must go before voters at the end of that term, which coincides with a gubernatorial election. However, they must also go before voters in the first gubernatorial election following their appointment. For instance, a justice appointed to the Court in 1985 to fill out a term that expired in 1991 had to seek confirmation in 1986. He or she then must seek confirmation again at the end of the term — or 1990 — for another 12-year stint on the Court.

The five justices (and the year their terms expire) up for confirmation in November are: Malcolm Lucas (1999), Armand Arabian (1999), Edward Panelli (2003), Joyce Kennard (1995), and Marvin Baxter (2003).

Insurance Commissioner

John Garamendi is so confident that he will be the state's first elected insurance commissioner that he resigned his Senate seat in early September in anticipation of victory this November. Garamendi left the Senate despite having a free ride; his seat does not come up for reelection until 1992. Garamendi resigned, he said, because he didn't feel right about continuing to collect a salary as a senator while campaigning full-time for another job.

Most political observers greeted Garamendi's explanation with hoots of disbelief, especially when the well-orchestrated campaign of his hand-picked successor hit the airwaves within hours of his leaving office, and especially when that wanna-be was none other than Patti Garamendi — the senator's wife. The ploy was seen as an attempt to grease Patti's election by making it difficult for her most formidable rival — Democratic Assemblyman Pat Johnston of Stockton. Had Garamendi not resigned until January, when the insurance commissioner takes office, a special election to replace him would not have been held until spring 1991, at the earliest. Johnston would have been able to win reelection to the Assembly in November, then campaign for the Senate. Now, however, the special election to fill Garamendi's vacancy will coincide with the November general election, forcing Johnston to run for two offices at the same time (see "Senate District 5," page 480).

Not that any of this will make much of a ripple in John

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Garamendi

Wes Bannister

Garamendi's quest. The office itself, heretofore appointed by the governor, was made elective when voters passed what was supposed to be a sweeping insurance-reform package — Proposition 103 — back in November 1988. But Proposition 103 has been something less than sweeping, with many provisions tied up in court battles among consumer groups, the Department of Insurance and insurance companies. Problems connected with implementation of the initiative have made some observers wonder why anyone would want to be insurance commissioner in the first place?

Enter Garamendi. For the better part of the 1980s he hankered after statewide office, losing Democratic primaries for governor (to Tom Bradley in 1982) and controller (to Gray Davis in 1986). So, when insurance commissioner became an elective office, Garamendi leaped into the fray. He should have an easy time of it, a fact confirmed by a late-August California Poll which had him ahead by two-to-one. Voters tend to see insurance as a consumer issue, and Democrats hold the high ground on consumerism. Plus, Bannister's profession as an insurance agent should prove a huge negative — right or wrong, anyone connected with the insurance industry is viewed with suspicion.

Board of Equalization

DISTRICT 1 (53% D -35% R)

Bennett (D*)
Wallack (R)
Iddings (L)

Bill Bennett is an unusual politician in this modern era of mega-buck campaigns and round-the-calendar fund raising. Bennett usually eschews fund raising of any sort en route to election victory after election victory (five, thus far). But the incumbent Democrat has come in for criticism this year, including charges during the primary that the 72-year-old campaigner abused his travel-expense fund. Bennett handily won the primary, anyway. Now, as the general election approaches, his Republican opponent, Jeff Wallack, has hammered away at Bennett's attendance record, claiming that the incumbent has missed at least 30 percent of the Board's meetings during the past three years and did not attend at all in July and August 1990. Bennett, as is his custom, did not respond to the charges. Unfortunately for Wallack, few voters pay attention to Board elections and it will be difficult for the challenger to make himself heard above the din caused by the rest of the 1990 election. Plus, he has to spread his message out through a huge tract of territory; the 1st District covers just about the northern half of the state, from Santa Clara and Tuolumne counties to the Oregon border. Still, Wallack is young and aggressive; Bennett practically disengaged from the electoral process. So, if Wallack can raise enough money — no mean feat with so much competition for campaign dollars — he may have a chance. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 2 (51% D -37% R)

Sherman (D)
Parrish (R)
Kudrovzeff (AI)
Sapowsky-Smith (L)
Lawrence (P&F)

Incumbent Conway Collis decided not to seek reelection to the Board, opting to run for the Democratic nomination for insurance commissioner instead. Collis finished third behind Senator John Garamendi and television commentator Bill Press. Thus, Collis is out of a job. The district itself plunges along the coast and includes both San Francisco and portions of Los Angeles, then jogs east to take in the San Joaquin Valley. In years past, it was relatively safe Democratic territory, but Republican registration gains, especially in the San Joaquin Valley and along the coast south of San Francisco, have helped offset Democratic strongholds in San Francisco itself. Both candidates — Democrat Brad Sherman, a Granda Hills accountant; Republican Claude Parrish, a Beverly Hills businessman — are unknown and not likely to generate much public consciousness before the election. Each of them defeated better-known opponents in the primary (Sherman beat former Assemblyman Lou Papan, while Parrish defeated former Assemblyman Bill Duplissea). The historic pattern favors Sherman. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

William Bennett

Paul Carpenter

DISTRICT 3 (40% D -49% R)

Morrow (D)
Dronenburg (R*)
Currie (L)
Weber (P&F)

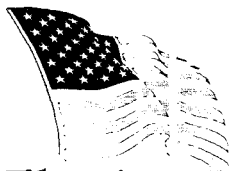
Solid Republican territory, this district starts at the Mexican border and includes San Diego, Orange, Riverside, Imperial, San Bernardino and Kern counties, then sends a finger north along the eastern slope of the Sierras to take in Mono and Inyo counties. Republican Ernie Dronenburg has been on the Board since 1978. He'd like to move up to another elective office, but there's nowhere to go. Democrat Floyd Morrow won't cause him any discomfort. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 (57% D -33% R)

Carpenter (D*)
Adams (R)
Honigsfeld (P&F)

That noise you heard back in mid-September — the huge crash, accompanied by the sound of shattering glass and twisting metal — was the political career of Democrat Paul Carpenter coming to an abrupt end in a Sacramento courtroom. Carpenter, who was first elected to the Board in 1986 after serving 12 years in the Legislature, was convicted of racketeering, conspiracy and extortion in connection with an FBI "sting" operation conducted in the state Capitol. Carpenter's conviction followed that of former Senator Joe Montoya in February 1990. Montoya is now serving time in prison. Carpenter was suspended from his position on the Board immediately following his conviction; when he is sentenced, the position becomes vacant. The verdict, however, came too late to have Carpenter's name removed from the November ballot. Should he be reelected, the secretary of state will set aside the election and the governor will be able to appoint someone to fill the vacancy. Either way — win or lose in November — Paul Carpenter's tenure on the Board is finished. Republican Joe Adams Jr., an auditor for the Board, has a built-in issue to bring before voters in this district, which includes most of Los Angeles County (except for Beverly Hills and Santa Monica). The question: Will voters hear the message? LEANS DEMOCRATIC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



District-by-district analysis

Election 1990

Congress

DISTRICT 1 (55% D - 34% R)
Bosco (D*)
Riggs (R)
Comingore (P&F)
Businessman Frank Riggs promises to give veteran lawmaker Doug Bosco his most formidable challenge in years, thanks to a combination of ill luck and bad timing — for the incumbent. The district snakes up the California coast from Marin County to the Oregon border and includes Humboldt, Del Norte and Mendocino counties — scene of the recent "redwood summer" battles between loggers and environmentalists. Bosco has always managed to walk a fine line between the two camps, but the simmering ill-will generated this summer may have obliterated the line. Also, Bosco has been unfavorably linked to a failed savings and loan in the district. Riggs is expected to exploit Bosco's vulnerabilities, although he may have trouble raising enough money to hammer the message home. Also, one of the cornerstones of Riggs' primary platform was reduced defense spending — an issue that could backfire on him these days thanks to the American military build-up in the Middle East. Bosco, a four-term incumbent who previously represented the area in the Assembly is well-heeled and well-known. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 2 (45% D - 43% R)
Rush (D)
Herger (R*)
Crain (L)
No rush to the polls will save this Democrat. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (56% D - 35% R)
Matsui (D*)
Landowski (R)
McCann (L)
Matsui gears up for what could be his last run for the House of Representatives. He's announced his intention to seek Alan Cranston's U.S. Senate seat in 1992. On the GOP side, Lowell Landowski will be making his third run at Matsui. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 4 (53% D - 36% R)
Fazio (D*)
Baughman (R)
Bigwood (L)
Mark Baughman, an aide to state Senator John Doolittle, won a four-way GOP primary because he was able to outspend his opponents. No such luck with Fazio, who continues to amass clout in the House and has one of the biggest warchests around. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 5 (65% D - 19% R)
Pelosi (D*)
Nichols (R)
Humm, baby. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 6 (59% D - 27% R)
Boxer (D*)
Boerum (R)
Barbara Boxer is running hard these days, for the U.S. Senate in 1992. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (54% D - 34% R)
Miller (D*)
Payton (R)
George Miller has become a major player in Congress, which usually happens to energetic lawmakers after eight terms in Washington. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 24% R)
Dellums (D*)
Galewski (R)
Berkeley and Ron Dellums are a matched set. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 9 (58% D - 30% R)
Stark (D*)
Romero (R)
Fortney "Pete" Stark stuck his itty, bitty foot into his mouth on the floor of the House recently when he said that U.S. Health and Welfare Secretary Louis Sullivan, who is Black, was a discredit to his race. That brought the wrath of just about everybody down on Stark's head, and he was forced to back off. Won't derail his reelection, however. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 10 (57% D - 30% R)
Edwards (D*)
Patrosso (R)
The dean of California's congressional delegation will return to Washington for his 15th term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 11 (55% D - 32% R)
Lantos (D*)
Quraishi (R)
Genis (L)
In 1988 consulting engineer Bill Quraishi managed but 24 percent against five-term incumbent Tom Lantos. Chances of an upset here are exceedingly thin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 12 (44% D - 42% R)
Palmer (D)
Campbell (R*)
Olson (L)
Tom Campbell has compiled a solid freshman term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 13 (49% D - 38% R)
Mineta (D*)
Smith (R)
Webster (L)
As with many Central Valley districts, this San Jose enclave should produce wide-open political races. But it, too, has a too-popular incumbent holding down the fort. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (46% D - 44% R)
Malberg (D)
Doolittle (R)
This seat has been occupied for the past 12 years by Republican Norm Shumway, who decided not to seek reelection in 1990. When Shumway bowed out, state Senator John Doolittle, with a free ride, quickly declared his candidacy. Doolittle, the Senate's most bedrock conservative, is bright, articulate and hard working, but his campaigns always seem unseemly. In his 1984 Senate reelection, for instance, Doolittle was embroiled in three-way race that involved a Democrat and another incumbent — independent Ray Johnson. At the last minute, Doolittle illegally pumped funds to the Democratic challenger for a mailer that helped siphon off just enough votes from the independent to allow Doolittle to squeak by. The Fair Political Practices Commission subsequently slapped Doolittle and his campaign with a hefty fine, but the damage had been done. The current campaign was barely in its infancy when Doolittle fired off a broadside at his Democratic challenger, Patricia Malberg, all but accusing her and her husband of cheating on their income taxes. Al-

KEY

D = Democrat
R = Republican
AI = American Independent
L = Libertarian
P&F = Peace and Freedom
* = Incumbent
(D% - R%) = percentage of Democratic and Republican voter registration in each district

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Doolittle

Malberg

though the charge proved to be a bit exaggerated, Doolittle refused to back down. The incident marks the opponents' campaign styles: Malberg is open and pert; Doolittle, secretive and hard-edged. Both have proved tenacious campaigners in the past. Malberg ran against Shumway two years ago and, despite a spirited campaign, lost almost two-to-one. Given the strong Republican nature of this huge district, Malberg's road this time is uphill all the way. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 15 (55% D - 36% R)
Condit (D*)
Burris (R)
Gary Condit now runs for a full term after winning a special election last year to fill out the unexpired term of Tony Coelho. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 16 (52% D - 35% R)
Panetta (D*)
Reiss (R)
Tucker (L)
Panetta holds one of Congress' most powerful jobs — head of the House Budget Committee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (49% D - 43% R)
Dooley (D)
Pashayan (R*)
This little blurb ought to read: "Pashayan skates through another easy reelection." However, there's this little matter of $26,000 in campaign contributions to Pashayan from Charles Keating Jr. and his Lincoln Savings and Loan crew back in 1986. This is the same Charles Keating Jr. who was recently arrested for fraud by California officials and who has been at the center of the swirling and ever-expanding national S&L scandal for the better part of two years. Pashayan has admitted that he lobbied regulators on Keating's behalf. Given that the S&L mess will cost taxpayers in excess of $500 billion, anyone caught anywhere near this political tornado runs the risk of being blown away. Pashayan's exposure is so pronounced on this issue that Roll Call, *a semi-weekly newspaper that distributes on Capitol Hill, named the six-term incumbent the most vulnerable member of the House. Former S&L regulator William Gray, a Republican himself, told* The Fresno Bee *recently that Pashayan "ought to be voted out of office." All this is very delightful news for King County farmer Cal Dooley. Just how bad off is Pashayan? A June poll conducted by the Dooley campaign revealed that, once apprised of the incumbent's S&L connections, 71 percent of district voters were likely to vote for somebody else. Democrats smell blood and given the paucity of vulnerable incumbents nationwide, they're not likely to scrimp in order to bounce Pashayan.* TOSS UP

DISTRICT 18 (59% D - 33% R)
Lehman (D*)
Well, time to go way out on a limb: Lehman will be reelected in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 19 (46% D - 41% R)
Ferguson (D)
Lagomarsino (R*)
Educator Anita Perez Ferguson, a former aide to popular state Senator Gary Hart, is running an aggressive campaign against eight-term incumbent Bob Lagomarsino. Lagomarsino, who was nearly ousted by Hart after a tough reelection campaign two years ago, is not taking anything for granted and is campaigning more vigorously. Ferguson, a Latina in a district that is more than a quarter Latino, is hammering at Lagomarsino's rigid pro-life stance and at his cozy relationship with the oil industry, which pumps oil in the Santa Barbara channel. The incumbent wasn't helped earlier this year when President George Bush announced a moratorium on oil drilling off the California coast — everywhere but at Santa Barbara. Still, Lagomarsino is something of an institution in the district, having been elected to his first office — mayor of Ojai — back in 1958. The best that Ferguson can hope is that Hart's challenge two years ago softened up Lagomarsino enough that she can pull off an upset. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 20 (41% D - 49% R)
M.Thomas (D)
W.Thomas (R*)
Dilbeck (L)
Incumbent Bill Thomas easily swept aside a primary challenge from Santa Clarita businessman Rod Gregory, who campaigned on the premise that Thomas did not stand nearly far enough to the right. Safe to say that Grover City businessman Michael Thomas won't use the same issue. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 21 (37% D - 52% R)
Freiman (D)
Gallegly (R*)
Christensen (L)
Thousand Oaks, Simi Valley, Westlake Village, Chatsworth — Indian territory, if you're a Democrat. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 22 (35% D - 55% R)
Bayer (D)
Moorhead (R*)
Wilson (L)
Tucker (P&F)
Heavily Republican. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 23 (54% D - 36% R)
Beilenson (D*)
Salomon (R)
Honigsfeld (P&F)
Glitz district, including Beverly Hills and Malibu, with a chunk of the San Fernando Valley for a reality check. Incumbent Tony Beilenson has been in business here since first being elected to the Assembly back in 1963. His congressional stint began in 1976 and is not likely to end this year. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 24 (59% D - 28% R)
Waxman (D*)
Cowles (R)
Phair (P&F)
Ah, Hollywood — movie stars, movie studios, a place just wild at heart. Home turf for Southern California political poohbah Henry Waxman. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 25 (68% D - 22% R)
Roybal (D*)
Renshaw (R)
Scott (L)
Ed Roybal will set a major league record this season by being elected to one office or another in six different decades — his first election being a seat on the Los Angeles City Council back in 1949. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 34% R)
Berman (D*)
Dahlson (R)
Zimring (L)
Sherman Oaks, Van Nuys, Burbank, Panorama City — home sweet safety for the second half of the Waxman-Berman political machine. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 34% R)
Levine (D*)
Cohen (R)
Ferrer (P&F)
On a map, this district looks like a dead terrier. It was created around the seaside areas of Venice, Redondo Beach, San Pedro and the harbors of Long Beach and Los Angeles — all neatly packaged especially for Mel Levine. It will probably be sliced up six ways from Sunday in the next reapportionment. Levine, however, has his sights set on another target — the U.S. Senate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 19% R)
Dixon (D*)
Adams (R)
Weber (L)
Williams (P&F)
Julian Dixon heads the House Ethics Committee. Busy man, that Julian. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 29 (82% D - 12% R)
Waters (D)
DeWitt (R)
Boctor (L)
Brace yourself, Washington. Freshman Maxine Waters is on the way, and she has the drive, the smarts and the fiery energy to make an immediate impact on the Congress. She takes over this seat from ageless Gus Hawkins, who hung up his spikes after 55 years in elective office, 29 of them in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 30 (59% D - 31% R)
Martinez (D*)
Franco (R)
Feger (L)
Marty Martinez tried to create something of a political dynasty in the June primary by getting his daughter nominated to the state Assembly in District 59. She lost. Marty won't. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (71% D - 20% R)
Dymally (D*)
Sato (R)
Eunice Sato, a retired member of the Long Beach City Council, will not win this election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (56% D - 35% R)
Anderson (D*)
Kahn (R)
Sanford Kahn is back for another futile run at Glenn Anderson. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 33 (42% D - 48% R)
Webb (D)
Dreier (R*)
Lightfoot (L)
Georgia Webb is a college administrator. David Dreier is an incumbent congressman with several trillion dollars in his campaign chest. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 31% R)
Torres (D*)
Eastman (R)
Esteban Torres will begin his fifth term in Congress in January. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 35 (38% D - 52% R)
Norton (D)
Lewis (R*)
Johnson (L)
A huge chunk of San Bernardino County, mostly desert. In 1985 registration here was evenly split between Republicans and Democrats, highlighting the fact that most of the growth in and around San Bernardino and Riverside has benefited the GOP. SAFE REPUBLICAN

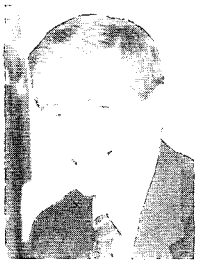
DISTRICT 36 (53% D - 38% R)
Brown (D*)
Hammock (R)
John Paul Stark has finally retired. Republican Stark went to the mat four times in an

Brown

Hammock

effort to unseat incumbent George Brown Jr., gaining 42 percent in his fourth and final try in 1988. Into his shoes has stepped San Bernardino County Supervisor Bob Hammock, who is more moderate than the fundamentalist Christian Stark. He also brings some formidable name recognition in his home county, which makes up more than two-thirds of the district. Brown has proved an elusive target in past elections, however. He's been in Congress since 1962 (except for a two-year hiatus in 1970 to run for the Senate), and the past few years has seen his registration edge slip away into the burgeoning suburbs around Riverside where young families are moving to escape the high cost of housing in Los Angeles. In 1986 GOP registration here was but 30 percent. It is now at 38 percent and rising. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 37 (42% D - 49% R)
Waite (D)
McCandless (R*)
Odom (AI)
Flickinger (L)
Actor Ralph Waite, better known as "Papa Walton" of TV fame, wants a new career on another stage — Congress — and has set


McCandless

Waite

his sights on the seat now held by four-term incumbent Al McCandless. Normally, the district's strong GOP registration would preclude any sort of meaningful challenge by a Democrat. But this year, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in Washington — the Democratic caucus' Santa Claus — has waded in on Waite's behalf, citing as its reason McCandless' low name recognition with district voters despite four terms in Congress. The DCCC concedes Waite is a long shot but the existence of few viable targets in California means the actor will get enough money to wage a credible campaign. His is one of only two California congressional races to get this kind of help (the other is Cal Dooley's challenge to incumbent Chip Pashayan in the 17th District). The district itself contains the bulk of Riverside County, including the posh areas around Palm Springs. Waite's campaign could be a four-year venture. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 38 (48% D - 43% R)
Jackson (D)
Dornan (R*)
B-1 Bob Dornan avoided any kind of battle when author-activist Ron Kovic decided not to enter the Democratic primary last June. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (33% D - 58% R)
Hoffman (D)
Dannemeyer (R*)
Quirk (P&F)
Where would California politics be without colorful characters like Bill Dannemeyer? Indeed, where would it be? SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 (30% D - 59% R)
Gratz (D)
Cox (R*)
Chris Cox should score a convincing victory over attorney Eugene Gratz and make his second trek to Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 41 (38% D - 48% R)
Kripke (D)
Lowery (R*)
Works (P&F)
A northern San Diego County district that includes Del Mar, La Jolla and Point Loma. Normally very Republican. But four-term incumbent Bill Lowery received more campaign contributions from the scandal-ridden savings-and-loan industry than did any other member of the House. Democrat Dan Kripke is trying to hammer this message home, but he's got a lot of territory to cover. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 42 (36% D - 53% R)
Kimbrough (D)
Rohrabacher (R*)
Martin (L)
Kimbrough ran against Rohrabacher two years ago, losing by 70,000 votes. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 43 (30% D - 56% R)
Packard (R*)
Arnold (L)
Hansen (P&F)
The Democrats didn't even bother to challenge Packard in southern Orange County. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 44 (54% D - 34% R)
Bates (D*)
Cunningham (R)
Wallner (L)
White (P&F)
Incumbent Jim Bates has been a member of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bates

Cunningham

Congress since 1982 and an elected official of one sort or another in San Diego since 1971. But his elective record is secondary because Bates has spent most of the past two years in the middle of a political fire storm over charges that he sexually harassed female members of his staff. After investigating those charges, the House Ethics Committee formally reprimanded Bates late last year. That prompted former Jerry Brown administration official Byron Georgiou to buck local party officials and enter the Democratic primary against Bates. It cost the incumbent a small fortune to beat Georgiou in June, and he'll have to pony up again to fend off a strong challenge in November. His GOP opponent, Randy "Duke" Cunningham, who brushed aside four other hopefuls in June, can be expected to go after Bates' ethical problems full bore.

Cunningham, a former instructor at the Miramar Naval Air Station fighter-pilot school (the "Top Gun" boys) benefits from his military background in an area whose economy and emotions are intertwined with the Navy and the defense industry. Bates is a tough campaigner, however, and incumbents are tough to knock off, unless this is finally the year when voters are looking for any old negative to oust incumbents. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 45 (37% D - 50% R)

Hunter (R*)
Shea (L)

This district touches both the Pacific Ocean and the Arizona border and includes portions of Imperial and San Diego counties. Duncan Hunter can represent it as long as he wishes. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Senate

DISTRICT 2 (56% D - 32% R)

Keene (D*)
Handley (R)

Republican Marge Handley's chances of unseating incumbent Barry Keene, the Senate's majority leader, are directly related to how much of her own considerable fortune she's willing to commit to the endeavor. There's a lot of territory for a Republican to overcome in terms of voter registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 4 (48% D - 41% R)

Thompson (D)
Nielsen (R*)
Hendricks (L)
Sutley (P&F)

In the June Democratic primary, former Assembly aide Mike Thompson pulled off a convincing victory over Rohnert Park Mayor Charlie Cochran. Now Thompson

Thompson

squares off against three-term incumbent Jim Nielsen, a former Senate minority leader. Nielsen enters the campaign toting some baggage that Thompson has been quick to exploit: Neilsen's been sued for fraud by a former business partner, must fend off charges that he has remained a paid consultant to a chemical company while casting votes affecting the agri-chemical business, and raised a mini-storm earlier this year when he referred to AIDS as heavenly punishment against gays. Nielsen has accused Thompson of being a Capitol insider who is part of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's "team." To date, Thompson has raised about $340,000; Nielsen slightly less. Both campaigns expect to spend in the neighborhood of $700,000 before the dust settles. Thompson may also benefit from simmering anti-incumbent sentiment in Butte County over the county's financial problems (see Assembly District 3). Still, voter registration in this sprawling, mostly rural district heavily favors a Republican. A mid-August private poll showed the incumbent comfortably ahead — but that was early in the fray. LEANS REPUBLICAN

Special election

DISTRICT 5 (53% D - 37% R) — Democrats: Patti Garamendi, Ernest Giannacchini and Patrick Johnston. Republicans: Elmer Brown, John Holbrook, Mike Dell'Orto, Phil Wallace and Dr. Robert Westofer.

Once upon a time, there was a young, handsome senator named Garamendi who married a handsome wife and together they had a large brood of handsome children. The senator and his handsome family were very rich and lived in a handsome house on a handsome ranch in a handsome district that included Mono County, the San Joaquin Valley and the Sierras. The people from his district were impressed with all this handsomeness and reelected the senator four times. But now and then, the senator became restless and sought some statewide elected job. He failed, but did not give up hope. Finally, in 1990 the senator's persistence paid off when he was nominated to run for insurance commissioner. But he was also concerned for the people in his district. He wanted to make sure that they were represented by someone as handsome as he. Who better to carry on this tradition than his wife? His wife was smart as well as handsome; some said she was smarter than the senator himself. But there was a powerful rival in the district, an assemblyman named Johnston who was also handsome and had once been a close ally of the senator and his family. To help his wife and hurt her rival, the senator stage-managed his resignation from the Senate, timing it so that the special election to replace him would be held at the same time as the general election. Thus, Johnston would have to seek two offices at the same time — Senate and Assembly. The handsome senator said his resignation was meant to save taxpayers money (holding both elections on the same day) and was not meant to cause any discomfort to Johnston. Meanwhile, the senator's wife began running television ads and mailing out campaign brochures before the ink was dry on her husband's resignation note. It was all done very handsomely. As for the campaign, the senator's wife is having hers run by Larry Sheingold, who has become something of a legend when it comes to winning special elections. Her campaign is well organized from the grassroots, too, and has been in full swing for weeks. To play catch-up, Johnston will have to spend to keep himself on television. He'll have to run a slash-and-burn campaign that is further handicapped by the knowledge on the part of some voters that they can have both candidates simply by keeping Johnston in the Assembly. Republicans hope the two Democrats will wage a bloody campaign, thus opening the door for them. On the GOP side, Westofer and Wallace have the best chance to raise enough money for a credible campaign. Westofer is a physician who can tap the medical community; Wallace, the San Joaquin County GOP chairman, is well-connected in the district. Dell'Orto is a Calaveras County supervisor with experience running for office. Holbrook is a school trustee from French Camp. Should any candidate — Republican or Democrat — get more than 50 percent of the vote, he or she would be elected to the office and avoid a January 1991 run-off. But with two well-known Democrats and a full slate of Republicans, it is unlikely anyone will win the seat outright in November. It's all very handsome.

DISTRICT 6 (57% D - 34% R)

L.Greene (D*)
Sullivan (R)
Murray (L)

Leroy Greene has had his share of tough

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reelection campaigns but 1990 won't be one of them. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (63% D - 22% R)
Kopp (I*)
Fitzgerald (D)
Silvestri (R)
Just about everybody — everybody — in this San Francisco-South Bay district has heard of freshman incumbent Quentin Kopp, a former San Francisco supervisor and radio talk-show host who first won this seat in 1986. That kind of name identification is worth zillions and makes Kopp far better known than either Fitzgerald or Silvestri. Kopp also has a lot of money in the bank and a reputation as an effective, if abrasive, legislator. SAFE, uh, KOPP

DISTRICT 10 (55% D - 32% R)
Lockyer (D*)
Hertz (R)
Hertz isn't in the driver's seat in this East Bay district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 12 (53% D - 36% R)
McCorquodale (D*)
Kennedy (R)
Milpitas businesswoman Lori Kennedy was so stunned by her primary victory that she didn't have a clue how she would conduct the general election campaign against two-term incumbent Dan McCorquodale. No word yet on whether she's figured it out, or whether Senate Republicans are going to help her. And it's getting late. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (49% D - 40% R)
Maddy (R*)
"Who shall speak for the people? Who knows the words from A to Z so he can say, 'I know what the people want'? Who is this phenom? Where did he come from? ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 (50% D - 40% R)
Gonzales (D)
Rogers (R*)
Saurenman (L)
Ray Gonzales won a convincing victory in a three-way Democratic primary, but the former assemblyman may have torpedoed his chance to win in November by being one of the few Democrats to endorse a GOP-sponsored initiative meant to take reapportionment out of the hands of the Legislature (Proposition 11) on the June ballot). Gonzales served in the Legislature from 1972 to 1974 but was defeated by Republican Bill Thomas, now a member of Congress, after Gonzales' district was changed by reapportionment. Perhaps that experience prompted Gonzales to endorse the failed Proposition 118. Whatever the reason, his support for 119 didn't endear him to Senate Democrats, who pumped much money and effort to defeat the measure. Democrats spent $1.4 million against Rogers in 1986, only to lose by 7000 votes; it is not likely they will come rushing to Gonzales' side. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 18 (47% D - 40% R)
Hart (D*)
Rogers (R)
Wood (L)
The Santa Barbara area has a penchant for electing Democrats to supposedly Republican districts. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 20 (57% D - 33% R)
Robbins (D*)
Podegracz (R)
Mirken (L)
Hark! What sound izzat? The sound of a third shoe falling? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 22 (59% D - 31% R)
Rosenthal (D*)
Schrager (R)
Hinds (P&F)
Go ye, Herschel, and be victorious. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 24 (66% D - 23% R)
Torres (D*)
Marsh (R)
Wilson (L)
Torres faced Marsh in 1982, and won three-to-one. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 26 (61% D - 30% R)
Calderon (D*)
Urquidi (R)
Goldsworthy (L)
Chuck Calderon now runs for a full four-year term after capturing a special election to fill out the term of former Senator Joe Montoya. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 18% R)
Watson (D*)
Kasimoff (P&F)
"Who shall speak for the people? who has the answers? where is the sure interpreter? who knows what to say? ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 30 (67% D - 23% R)
Dills (D*)
Poling (R)
On and on and on and on and on ... SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (43% D - 48% R)
Becktell (D)
Royce (R*)
Evelyn Colon Becktell is running in a district that does not hold much promise for a Democrat. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 (51% D - 40% R)
Ayala (D*)
Bader (R)

Ayala

Bader

By far, the most interesting and potentially most expensive legislative race of the year. Also, the closest. Incumbent Democrat Ruben Ayala's path to a fifth term is blocked by Republican Assemblyman Charles Bader, who has served in the lower house since 1982. The district juts east from the Los Angeles County community of Pomona and into San Bernardino County where it picks up the cities of Chino, Ontario and most of San Bernardino. Ayala was first elected here in 1974, but the influx of new residents, especially in San Bernardino County, weaken the benefits of incumbency — new voters don't know from Ruben Ayala. What's worse for the incumbent, most of those folks are Republicans; this Senate district suffered the largest drop in Democratic registration of any district in the state between 1984 and 1988. The last time Ayala sought reelection (1986), Democrats held a 53-37 percent edge. Bader, too, is an incumbent of sorts, for his old Assembly district (the 65th) also includes Chino and Pomona. Ayala's campaign estimates it will spend between $300,000 and $400,000; Bader is expected to spend as much as $600,000. All of this spells trouble for Ayala. But not all is doom-and-gloom. Ayala's campaign manager is Larry Sheingold, a Senate staffer on leave of absence who has become something of a miracle man in tough campaigns. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 36 (46% D - 45% R)
Presley (D*)
Haynes (R)
Attorney Ray Haynes squeaked out a narrow victory against Robert Nowell in the GOP primary. And unless there is some unseen and overwhelming anti-incumbent sentiment afoot in Riverside, Haynes should lose handily to Bob Presley — despite the GOP registration strength. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 38 (33% D - 52% R)
Craven (R*)
Olmsted (L)
Evans (P&F)
"'The people is a myth, an abstraction.' And what myth would you put in place of the people? And what abstraction would you exchange for this one?" (Carl Sandberg, "The People, Yes.") SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 (53% D - 35% R)
Deddeh (D*)
Watson (R)
Moths (L)
Batchelder (P&F)
Waddie Deddeh, an Iraqi by birth, was subjected to some hate mail during the waning

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

days of the legislative session. But crackpots won't affect his reelection. Deddeh has represented this area in either the Assembly or Senate since 1966. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

ASSEMBLY

DISTRICT 1 (47% D - 42% R)
Caudle (D)
Statham (R*)
Statham v. Caudle, round three. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 2 (56% D - 31% R)
Hauser (D*)
Willis (R)
Anderson (P&F)
A district fraught with economic and ecological tensions in the wake of "redwood summer," which pitted the environmentalists against loggers and others involved in the timber industry. Despite the turmoil, Republican Tim Willis won't keep Dan Hauser from winning his fifth term. The most interesting candidate is Peace and Freedom nominee Bruce Anderson, outspoken editor and publisher of the Anderson Valley Advertiser. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 3 (44% D - 45% R)
Hatamiya (D)
Chandler (R*)
The northern portion of this district is dominated by a huge question mark — Butte County, which is on the verge of insolvency and which harbors more than 40

Chandler

percent of the district's registered voters. Folks in Butte are a bit testy these days over their finances, blaming their troubles on a state government that mandates services for more and more people while providing neither the money to pay for those services nor the leeway to allow Butte to raise the money on its own. That testiness could translate into anti-incumbent votes and make Chris Chandler's cake-walk reelection into a closer race. Lame-duck Governor George Deukmejian didn't help fellow Republican Chandler recently when, instead of signing a bill designed to help Butte through its fiscal crisis, the governor lectured county officials on how to further slash expenses. Poised to take advantage of the situation is Harvard-trained attorney Lon Hatamiya, now a Butte County farmer whose family has farmed in the district for more than 90 years. Hatamiya has been walking precincts for over a year. More important, he's raised more than $200,000 — a huge warchest for such a rural district and more than enough money to make it hot for Chandler come November. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 (55% D - 32% R)
Hannigan (D*)
Ford (R)
Presley (L)
Agricultural consultant John Ford won't keep Majority Leader Tom Hannigan from representing this Solano and Yolo county district for the seventh time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 5 (48% D - 42% R)
Buonaiuto (D)
Leslie (R*)
Every election season, the Sacramento area coughs up a screamer, and Leslie-Buonaiuto promises to be among the best in recent memory. Leslie is a lackluster, albeit hard-working incumbent who has little to distinguish himself during two terms in office. Buoniauto, an elected member of the Sacramento Municipal Utility District board, is a colorful character who may be better

Buonauito

Leslie

known in the district than is Leslie. To announce his candidacy, Buonaiuto stood on the Capitol steps, held up a red light bulb and declared the Capitol "the biggest little whorehouse in California" — a ploy that did not endear him to fellow Democrats who control the Legislature. Buonaiuto attacked Leslie's acceptance of campaign contributions from special interests. Leslie, who compares himself to Ozzie Nelson because of his "good values" and respect for traditions, has zeroed in on Buonaiuto's record on the SMUD board, blaming him for the utility's fitful record in managing the Rancho Seco nuclear power plant. The campaign itself got off to a roaring start just before Labor Day when Buonaiuto released the contents of a message on his phone machine: Seems an aide to GOP Assemblyman Chris Chandler offered to provide Buonaiuto with campaign fodder to use against Leslie. But for all his colorful language and bravado, Buonaiuto has a tough road ahead. He has thus far refused help from Assembly Democrats and cannot match Leslie's sizeable, if not overwhelming, warchest. And Buonaiuto's complaints about Capitol corruption may not succeed in denting Leslie's reputation as a hard worker for his constituents. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 6 (56% D - 35% R)
Connelly (D)*
Marsh (R)
Engelhardt (L)
This could be Lloyd Connelly's last run for the Assembly since he has expressed an interest in running for Congress should area Democrat Bob Matsui carry through with plans to run for the U.S. Senate in 1992. Connelly would be passed the torch. Frustrated with the Legislature's ennui, Connelly does much of his legislating through the initiative process. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (49% D - 41% R)
N.Waters (D*)
Knowles (R)
Norm Waters has earned honors as the GOP's number-one Assembly target for

Knowles

Waters

1990. Two years ago Republicans forked over nearly $700,000 to help David Knowles unseat the five-term incumbent, but Knowles fell 1400 votes short and immediately announced a rematch. He's been campaigning ever since in a district where registration keeps sliding more and more toward the Republican column. For his part, Waters has been more active in the district, opening a new office in south Sacramento and cultivating voters in Placer and El Dorado counties, where Knowles scored well in 1988. Waters also held an early fundraising edge of nearly four-to-one, although Knowles is well-connected to powerful financial interests in Sacramento and could even the slate by election time. The district itself is diverse, including remote areas of the Sierras, environmentally sensitive Mono County and burgeoning foothill suburbs near Sacramento. Finally, Waters-Knowles II includes an added handicap for the incumbent: His primary opponent, Chris Carrillo, has vowed to stay in the race as a write-in. If he keeps even a small chunk of his 14,000 primary supporters, their defection could tip a close race to Knowles. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 38% R)
Hansen (R*)
Roberts (L)
"Name us a king who shall live forever — ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 9 (53% D - 34% R)
Bronshvag (D)
Filante (R*)
Bright (L)
Persily (P&F)
Bill Filante has won six elections to the Assembly from a marginal district that could just as easily be represented by a Democrat. Democrats have run attractive candidates before, targeting Filante, but their efforts always seem half-hearted, perhaps because Filante so often votes with the Democratic majority. Now comes Vivien Bronshvag of Marin County who has been active in education circles and on various community boards (homeless, drug prevention). Bronshvag has put $60,000 of her own money into the campaign, with promises of more if needed, and has hammered away at what she calls Filante's "do-nothing" tenure in Sacramento. For his part, Filante is campaigning hard and touting his record, including co-authorship of Proposition 128 on the November ballot. Filante always seems vulnerable, and always manages to slip through mostly because his opponents were underfunded. How well Bronshvag does this time around may well hinge on how much of her own money she is willing to commit to broadcast her message into Sonoma County where she is less well known. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 10 (56% D - 34% R)
Isenberg (D*)
Griffin (R)
Rufer (L)
Republican Tom Griffin, a Sacramento attorney, withdrew from the race in mid-September, calling the election process a "con game" and a waste of time. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 11 (64% D - 25% R)
B.Campbell (D*)
" ... a peanut king, a potato king ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 12 (63% D - 23% R)
Bates (D*)
Gear (R)
Feinland (P&F)
No Republican can mount a challenge in this East Bay district, which includes parts of Oakland and most of Berkeley. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (73% D - 15% R)
Lee (D)
Thomas (R)
This race was decided in the primary where Barbara Lee bested Aleta Cannon. Lee, veteran staffer for the area's popular Congressman Ron Dellums, was favored by the Assembly Democrats' power structure, and that was enough for the primary. She will succeed incumbent Elihu Harris, who left the Assembly to run for mayor of Oakland and is involved in a November run-off with Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles Jr. Oh, so SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (64% D - 25% R)
Klehs (D*)
Grundmann (R)
Nygren (L)
An East Bay Democratic stronghold that includes San Leandro and Hayward. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (37% D - 51% R)
Williams (D)
Baker (R*)
The Republican flip-side of District 14, including rapidly growing communities like Walnut Creek, Danville, Moraga, Lafayette and Concord. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 (69% D - 15% R)
Burton (D*)
" ... a gasket king, a brass-tack king ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (64% D - 20% R)
W.Brown (D*)
Faulkner (R)
Whisman (L)
After 25 years in the Assembly, 10 of them as speaker, Willie Brown faces what could be the most serious challenge to his leadership. Not from inside the Assembly, but from an initiative meant to impose term limits on statewide officials — Proposition 140, sponsored by Los Angeles Supervisor Pete Schabarum. Brown must devote most of his efforts this fall toward defeating the Schabarum proposal, and he must do it in an atmosphere of disdain for the Legislature and those who control it. These are not happy times for the speaker. The Legislature, thanks to an inept performance on the state budget and a dearth of meaningful proposals to deal with state problems, is considered corrupt at worst; irrelevant at best by the electorate. And Brown himself is the symbol for what ails the process Schabarum seeks to overhaul. Although a master political tactician, Brown has presided over a house drifting toward oblivion. Yet he and his minions must now try to convince voters that the current do-nothing system is better than Schabarum's system, which would boot Assembly members after three terms. Brown's salvation may boil down to a supreme political irony: Voters are so turned off, they may simply ignore the entire election, thus saving incumbents' hides once again. "The poohbahs rise and hold their poohbah sway till their use is over and other poohbahs hitherto unheard of step into their shoes and sit at the big tables and have their say-so till events order the gong for them ..." (Carl Sandburg, "The People, Yes"). SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 18 (53% D - 33% R)
Eastin (D*)
" ... a wall-paper king with a wall-paper crown ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 19 (60% D - 26% R)
Speier (D*)
" ... and a wall-paper queen with wall-paper jewels ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 20 (46% D - 42% R)
Lempert (D*)
Rinehart (R)
Sigmund (AI)
Inama (L)
Ted Lempert has been targeted for defeat by Assembly Republicans and therefore his first reelection campaign may help answer the questions: Can a hard-working, honest legislator, who won an upset victory he had no reason to win, hold onto his seat after a solid freshman term? Do voters reward performance? Lempert helped draft the Assembly's ethics package and major oil-spill legislation and generally drew kudos as a hard-working and thoughtful lawmaker, but he represents a normally Republican San Mateo County district that once was held by state GOP Chairman Bob Naylor. The numbers here are daunting for a Democrat, and trade consultant James Rinehart of Menlo Park has the backing of the area's popular Republican incumbents state Senator Becky Morgan and Congressman Tom Campbell.

Advertisement

12 STEPS TO ***Clear Writing***

A Concise Guide For Writers And Editors

A NEW BOOK BY LEIGH STEPHENS

Order now and brush up on your writing skills. CSUS Professor Stephens has trained thousands of government and private agency employees to clean up their writing style and write to the point.

Book and Laminated Desktop Guide — $20 (Includes tax/shipping)
Call for Training or Books (916) 927-3650, Or Write To:

CREATIVE COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATES
P.O. Box 19209, Sacramento, CA 95819-0209

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lempert

Rinehart

He's also picked up support from former area GOP Congressman Pete McCloskey, who has endorsed Lempert in the past. Governor Deukmejian appeared at a mid-September fund raiser which pushed his warchest into the six-figure category. TOSS UP

DISTRICT 21 (53% D - 32% R)
Sher (D*)
Garris (R)
The only question here: Why would someone as thoughtful and as dedicated as Byron Sher want to be in the Assembly? SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 22 (40% D - 46% R)
Levy (D)
Quackenbush (R*)
Petersen (L)
Bob Levy, a computer systems analyst, will not — repeat, not — be a member of the California Assembly come 1991. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 23 (58% D - 29% R)
Vasconcellos (D*)
Valladares (R)
When John Vasconcellos was first elected to the Assembly, the Vietnam War was just heating up. Now, as he prepares for his 13th term, he must be grieving over the paralysis gripping the Assembly. And he must wonder how much longer he will be willing to be part of it. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 24 (53% D - 35% R)
Cortese (D*)
Granada (R)
Sommer (L)
Five-term incumbent Dom Cortese easily beat back a primary challenge from Franklin School Board Member Pearle Woodall and now faces Republican activist Ron Granada, a life-long San Jose resident. Cortese's easy rode toward reelection is strewn with a potentially huge nail, however: In September, Cortese was arraigned on misdemeanor charges of accepting an illegal gift — a house-painting job — from lobbyist Carl Burg. Burg has already pleaded no contest for his part in the deal and been sentenced to three years' probation, 100 hours of community service and a $2000 fine. Granada, of course, wasted no time in exploiting Cortese's predicament. The effectiveness of that exploitation depends on how much money Granada is able to raise and as of mid-September, he had barely scraped up $30,000. He estimates he'll need five times that much to unseat Cortese and at present has few prospects to raising the money. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 25 (52% D - 36% R)
Areias (D*)
Gilmore (R)
Hinkle (L)
Areias v. Gilmore III. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 26 (56% D - 35% R)
Johnston (D*)
Keaster (R)
Klohs (L)
Five-term incumbent Pat Johnston faces an uncomfortable fall election, and not because CHP officer Brad Keaster will provide much of a challenge. Johnston's problem stems from the fact that he must convince district voters to elect him to two separate offices: the Assembly and the state Senate. The dual race came about because Democrat John Garamendi, a candidate for insurance commissioner, resigned his Senate seat in early September, forcing a special election to fill the vacancy. The timing of Garamendi's resignation was designed so that the special election would be consolidated with the November 6th general election. Since Johnston's Assembly district lies within Garamendi's Senate district, Johnston was the most likely Democratic candidate. Why, then, would Garamendi put his old friend and former aide in such a difficult position? Because Honest John was trying to give a leg up to another Democratic Senate hopeful — his wife, Patti Garamendi (see the 5th Senate District). Keaster should make an issue out of Johnston's dual campaign, but he'll need more ammo. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 37% R)
Cannella (D*)
Lang (R)
Shimp (L)
Sal Cannella and Richard Lang will reprise their spring 1990 special election that saw Cannella defeat Lang for the right to assume the seat once held by Democrat Gary Condit, now a member of Congress. Cannella earned many Brownie points this summer when he climbed out of a hospital bed to cast a critical vote on the state budget. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Cannella

Lang

DISTRICT 28 (54% D - 32% R)
Farr (D*)
Walker (R)
Sam Farr returns to Sacramento for his sixth term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 29 (39% D - 48% R)
Lybarger (D)
Seastrand (R)
The late Eric Seastrand, a four-term incumbent, lost his battle with cancer only weeks after being renominated in the June 1990 primary. Republican officials from Monterey, San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara counties then named Seastrand's widow, Andrea, to run in his place. She should have little trouble succeeding her late husband in Sacramento. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 30 (59% D - 32% R)
Costa (D*)
Hurt (R)
Jim Costa will return for his seventh term, and he's not yet 40 years old. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (57% D - 36% R)
Bronzan (D*)
" ... Name us a king so keen, so fast, so hard, he shall last forever — ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (44% D - 47% R)
McGoldrick (D)
Jones (R*)
Jones will easily shrug off the challenge of Bernie McGoldrick, a college professor. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 (50% D - 42% R)
Harvey (R*)
" ... and all the yes-men square shooters telling the king, ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 (40% D - 49% R)
Wyman (R*)
Tisbert (L)
" ... 'Okay Boss, you shall last forever. and then some.' ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 35 (49% D - 37% R)
O'Connell (D*)
O'Shaugnessy (R)
Jack O'Connell has a more formidable Republican challenger than in 1988, when he was the GOP nominee and the Democratic nominee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 36 (37% D - 51% R)
Connell (D)
McClintock (R*)
Harner (L)
Tom McClintock is becoming a thorn in the side of Assembly leaders — both Democratic and Republican. Libertarian in outlook, he would dismantle as much of government as possible and privatize everything from prisons to streetlights. Meanwhile, his constant challenges to Assembly GOP leader Ross Johnson have helped fracture the Republican caucus. SAFE REPUBLICAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 37 (36% D - 52% R)
Petrie (D)
Wright (R*)
Spooner (L)
Republican Cathie Wright shelled out nearly $500,000 in her effort to beat back a primary challenge from Hunt Braly, former chief aide to state Senator Ed Davis. Wright, seeking her sixth term, attracted such a serious challenge following charges that she used her influence to try and ease the punishment meted out to her daughter over a bad driving record. Wright won, despite the fact that four of the area's five newspapers endorsed her opponent, proving once again the power of incumbency. Compared to a rough-and-tumble primary, the general election will be a piece of cake. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 38 (42% D - 48% R)
Allert (D)
Boland (R)
Najbergier (P&F)
Incumbent Republican Marian LaFollette, who is retiring, tried to pass the torch to her administrative assistant, 24-year-old Robert Wilcox. But the torch was intercepted by long-time community activist Paula Boland, who picked up key endorsements from the likes of Mike Antonovich and Deane Dana before capturing a surprising 43 percent of the vote in a crowded field. Wilcox came in second with 33 percent. Boland, a realtor by trade, spent over $100,000 and put together a large volunteer force. She benefitted when district Republicans opted for experience over youth. In the general election, she'll bowl over businesswoman Irene Allert. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (57% D - 34% R)
Katz (D*)
Ceravolo (R)
Richard Katz may not be long for the Assembly, and not because Republican Sam Ceravolo is going to retire him in November. Katz, seeking his sixth term, often is frustrated over the way things work in the Legislature and may soon cast about for some other office. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 40 (56% D - 34% R)
Bane (D*)
Gabriel (R)
Vernon (L)
No miracles will blow Gabriel's way this election season. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 41 (41% D - 50% R)
Mann (D)
Nolan (R*)
Helms (L)
Velasquez (P&F)
Pat Nolan still may have legal problems hanging over his head in Sacramento due to the on-going FBI sting investigation, but he has no electoral troubles down home. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 42 (39% D - 51% R)
Fierro (D)
Mountjoy (R*)
Fritschler (L)
If Richard Mountjoy had an agenda when he came to Sacramento six terms ago, attempts to implement it have probably so frustrated him that even he's forgotten what it was. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 43 (55% D - 35% R)
Friedman (D*)
Passi (R)
Rotter (L)
Lindblad (P&F)
A hopeless quest for Republican Gary Passi. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 44 (59% D - 29% R)
Hayden (D*)
Beteta (R)
Donner (L)
Burdick (P&F)
Hayden's long-time opponent, Gloria Stout, lost the Republican primary to Santa Monica College trustee Fred Beteta, who will now lose the general election to Hayden-sans-Fonda. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 45 (59% D - 29% R)
Margolin (D*)
Michael (R)
Staley (P&F)
Burt Margolin's fifth term seems assured. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

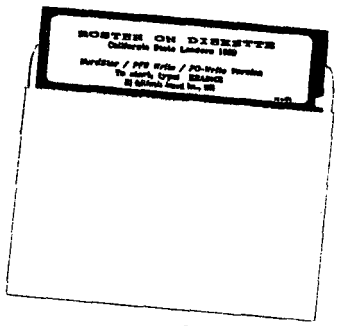
DISTRICT 46 (59% D - 28% R)
Roos (D*)
Church (R)
Everling (L)
Robrish (P&F)
Roos has served seven-and-a-half terms in the Assembly, most of it in some sort of leadership post. As Assembly pro tem, he presides over the floor sessions, which means a lot of television exposure in this new era of televised law-making. That can be good news or bad news for Roos. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 47 (81% D - 11% R)
Hughes (D*)
"... telling it to an onion king, a pecan king ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 48 (84% D - 10% R)
Archie-Hudson (D)
Salazar (R)
Castaneda (L)
This seat has been held since 1976 by Maxine Waters. But Waters is taking her high intelligence and brassy style to Washington where she will succeed Gus Hawkins in the Congress. Her Assembly successor will be Marguerite Archie-Hudson, who pulled off a surprisingly easy primary victory over Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrell. Now, she'll coast through the November election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Advertisement

1990 Roster on Diskette



Roster on Diskette is an up-to-date, computer-readable list of all key state officials. Included are senators, Assembly members and representatives in Congress with capitol and district addresses, telephone numbers and staff; departments and boards of the state executive branch, legislative committees; and constitutional offices.

Roster on Diskette makes it possible for you to create personalized mailings and lists and directories of your own design without the headache of entering the data yourself.

Files on *Roster on Diskette* serve as data files for your own programs. One of three formats for IBM-compatibles is available: dBase, Word Perfect, or WordStar (this ASCII delimited format also works with PFS, PC-Write and many other programs).

If you mail just one personalized letter to the Legislature this year, this will more than pay for itself.

To place your order send $49.00 plus $3.31 sales tax and $2.50 handling to:
California Journal Diskette
1714 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento, CA 95814

Be sure to specify data format.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 49 (73% D - 18% R)
Moore (D*)
Givens (R)
Rogers (L)
Miles (P&F)
Gwen Moore continues to be enmeshed in on-going corruption investigations of the Legislature because her name was on the infamous "shrimpscam" bill carried at the behest of FBI agents posing as businessmen. That issue likely will not be resolved before election day, but it won't matter. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 50 (77% D - 16% R)
Tucker (D*)
Long (P&F)
" ... a slipper king, or a chewing-gum king ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 51 (37% D - 52% R)
Landau (D)
Felando (R*)
Gaillard (L)
Teacher Marilyn Landau will get a lesson in electoral politics come November. Can you say 'routed,' boys and girls? SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 52 (42% D - 48% R)
Neely (D)
Horcher (R)
The mix in this district, which opened up when Frank Hill was elected to the state Senate earlier this year, is interesting

Horcher **Neely**

Democrat Gary Neely has been endorsed by the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers' Association, which has also given him money. Republican Paul Horcher emerged from a crowded Republican primary but many of the prominent losers in that contest have not endorsed him in the general election. One of those losers, Ken Manning, threatened to run as a write-in candidate but has since dropped the idea. Despite a comfortable GOP registration edge, Neely could pull off an upset if he can raise enough money to buy himself some name recognition beyond his hometown of Diamond Bar. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 53 (60% D - 29% R)
Floyd (D*)
Davis (R)
Dick Floyd has emerged from some nasty campaigns in the past, including one where opponents forged Ronald Reagan's signature on an endorsement letter. Barring new forgeries, this time should be easier. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 54 (65% D - 28% R)
Murray (D*)
Hart-Holifield (R)
Olivier (L)
Lynn (P&F)
Emily Hart-Holifield is a Black educator who must run uphill in an overwhelming Democratic district, even though the district was represented by Republican Paul

Hart-Holifield **Murray**

Zeltner from 1984 to 1986. Hart- Holifield's campaign literature neglects to mention she is a Republican. Democrat Willard Murray served out a featureless freshman term but should win reelection anyway. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 55 (66% D - 23% R)
Polanco (D*)
Olvera (L)
" ... any consolidated amalgamated syndicate king — ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 56 (74% D - 15% R)
Roybal-Allard (D*)
" ... listening to the yes-men telling him he shall live forever ..." SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 57 (61% D - 29% R)
Elder (D*)
Guarneri (R)
With six terms under his belt, Dave Elder is becoming an elder statesman. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 58 (39% D - 50% R)
Pryor (D)
Mays (R)
Stier (L)
Another election won in a primary, this time to succeed incumbent Republican Dennis Brown. Huntington Beach Mayor Tom Mays emerged from a crowded June primary field to capture the nomination. Mays now faces public-relations exec Luanne Pryor of Long Beach. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 59 (62% D - 28% R)
Becerra (D)
Lieberg (R)
Pencall (L)
Yet another district where the primary election was more important than the general election. Incumbent Charles Calderon's move to the state Senate to replace Joe Montoya left his Assembly seat up for grabs, and deputy attorney general Xavier Becerra overcame two challengers to win in June. He will now coast to victory in November in this overwhelmingly Democratic district. Becerra is an ally of state Senator Art Torres, who helped with his primary campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 60 (60% D - 30% R)
Tanner (D*)
Aguirre (R)
Although a six-term incumbent, Sally Tanner is thought to be vulnerable to a challenge by a Latino because of the large Latino population in her district. Four years ago, El Monte Councilman Henry Velasco came close. But in a rematch two years later, Tanner trounced him. Now comes Ron Aguirre, a West Covina administrator, whose chances are even slimmer than Velasco's. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 61 (39% D - 50% R)
Johnson (D)
Woodruff (R*)
Harbour (L)
A San Bernardino County district based around Redlands, Loma Linda and Yucaipa — a safe haven for freshman Paul Woodruff. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 62 (41% D - 50% R)
Calnan (D)
Lancaster (R*)
" ... an okay Boss who shall never bite the dust, ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 63 (56% D - 36% R)
Epple (D*)
Boggs (R)
Freshman Bob Epple holds a seat that has bounced back and forth between Democrats and Republicans for the past decade. Epple, in fact, defeated Republican incumbent Wayne Grisham in 1988. Now comes Downey Councilwoman Diane Boggs to challenge Epple in what is considered a targeted district by Republicans. Boggs has seeded her warchest with $50,000 from her own pocket and raised another $20,000 from district contributors as of mid-September. But she'll need more to match incumbent Epple's $200,000. Boggs is perhaps better known in Downey, where she is a two-term member of the city council. Downey makes up about 40 percent of the district. Epple is from Norwalk, which is heavily Democratic but not nearly so large. Neither party's voters are particularly loyal. LEANS DEMOCRAT

DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 56% R)
Gardner (D)
Johnson (R*)
Ross Johnson is the Assembly Republican leader in an era when the term "Assembly Republican leader" is an oxymoron. Johnson spent most of the 1989-90 legislative session fending off challenges to his lead-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ership and exacerbating his vulnerabilities. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 65 (40% D - 50% R)
Erwin (D)
Brulte (R)
Jim Brulte, an easy primary winner, will replace incumbent Charles Bader, who is leaving the Assembly to challenge Democrat Ruben Ayala for Ayala's seat in the state Senate. Brulte has good GOP credentials, having served on the Washington staff of former U.S. Senator Sam Hayakawa, on the staff of the Republican National Committee in Washington, at the Defense Department during the Reagan administration, and as an advance man for then-Vice President George Bush. Since 1987, he has been Bader's chief of staff. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 66 (55% D - 36% R)
Eaves (D*)
Hall (R)
Jerry Eaves emerged from another rough-and-tumble primary battle with Joe Baca to face firefighter Steve Hall in November. Eaves — safe at home. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 67 (30% D - 60% R)
Smoleer (D)
Lewis (R*)
"... never go down and be a sandwich for the worms ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 68 (53% D - 38% R)
Clute (D*)
Hage (R)
Clay Hage has an active pen, if nothing else. His campaign sends out a trillion or so press releases each week but seems to be doing little else to unseat four-term incum-

Clute

Hage

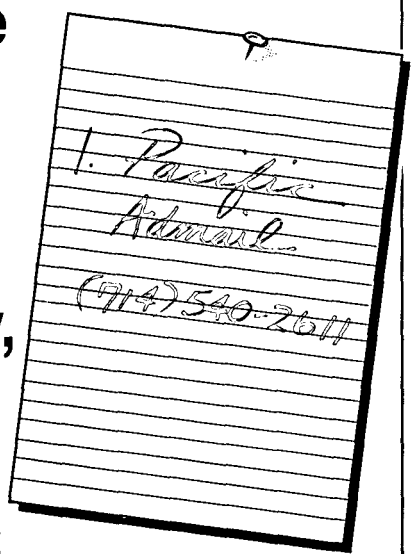
bent Steve Clute. If Hage could mobilize his base in Moreno Valley, where more than 100,000 people now live, he could cause some ripples. But to date, his name recognition is low throughout the district and he has yet to display the fund-raising capability needed to upgrade his profile. His political experience consists of stints as an aide to Assemblyman Chuck Bader and to Los Angeles Supervisor Pete Schabarum. Clute has never been considered a powerhouse legislator and has always relied on campaign funds from his fellow Democrats, notably Speaker Willie Brown. Thanks to Proposition 73's ban against transfers of money, Clute has been forced to actively raise his own campaign funds. His campaign estimates they will spend $250,000 and probably not need any more, a far cry from the million-dollar races waged here on Clute's behalf in the past. Hage, of course, operates under the same handicap and has thus far raised very little money — not enough to convince Assembly Republicans that his candidacy is viable. Don't discount a last-minute fund-raising blitz, however. Voter registration makes this a marginal district for Democrats, and Republicans have made great strides in recent years, especially in fast-growth suburban areas around Riverside. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 69 (32% D - 56% R)
Toledano (D)
Frizzelle (R*)
"... like us — the customers, ..." SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 70 (27% D - 62% R)
Adler (D)
Ferguson (R*)
Bedrock conservative Gil Ferguson, who has made a career out of bashing Tom Hayden, survived a primary challenge from Phyllis Badham, she of the semi-prominent Southern California political family of Bad-

Advertisement

This is a complete list of direct mail firms that offer statewide voter files, voter history, demographic analysis, carrier route pre-sort and laser-printed computer letters, plus mechanical labeling and inserting, ink jet addressing and total printing, graphics and creative support . . .



All under one roof!

PACIFIC ADMAIL

Corporate Office & Plant - 11080 Talbert Ave., Fountain Valley, CA 92708
(714) 540-2611 Fax (714) 540-3077

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hams. Now Ferguson can relax, for no Democrat is going to capture a district that has 62 percent GOP registration. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 71 (41% D - 49% R)
Mathews (D)
Allen (R*)
Doris Allen will have no trouble returning for her fifth term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 72 (52% D - 39% R)
Umberg (D)
Pringle (R*)
A funny thing happened to Democrat Tom Umberg on his way to the November election: A major in the Army Reserve, Umberg was activated in mid-September as part of the Army's "Desert Shield" mobilization of U.S. forces. Umberg was packed off to Fort Irwin near Barstow. This was good-news, bad-news for incumbent Republican Curt Pringle. The good news: Umberg's aggressive, precinct-walking campaign came to a screeching halt. The bad news: Pringle

Pringle

Umberg

greeted the news by touring a National Guard Armory, thus throwing unintended patriotic kudos to his opponent and pointing out the fact that he — Pringle — was not in uniform during a national emergency. Mobilization or no mobilization, Pringle is in trouble. The district has been represented by both a Democrat and Republican during the past 10 years, so voters have shown a tendency to flip-flop. And Pringle has accumulated political baggage, despite being a first-termer. First, he was sued last year because his 1988 campaign hired election-day poll guards who allegedly intimidated Latinos into not voting. Pringle settled the suit out-of-court for mega-bucks. Second, Pringle is one of nine legislators nationwide targeted for defeat by pro-choice groups. Adding to Pringle's woes, Umberg is a former assistant U.S. attorney who has gained endorsements from a host of law-enforcement groups both statewide and in Orange County — an important boost in a conservative district. Finally, Umberg has to date out-fund-raised Pringle nearly two-to-one and now has over $250,000 in the bank, nearly all of it raised locally. This is more than twice what Pringle's 1988 opponent raised in a contest that Pringle barely won. Still, Pringle is an incumbent who can count on strong support from pro-life groups and from Assembly Republicans. TOSS UP

DISTRICT 73 (40% D - 51% R)
Strait (D)
Kelley (R*)
"... like us — the customers." (Carl Sandburg, "Name us a King"). SAFE REPUBLICAN

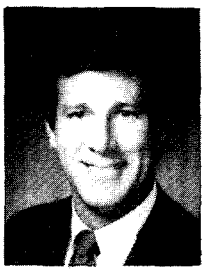
DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 56% R)
Franklin (D)
Frazee (R*)
Hunt (L)
Rico-Webber (P&F)
Bob Frazee will return for his seventh term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 75 (33% D - 52% R)
Alpert (D)
Mojonnier (R*)
Murphy (L)
Phuong Huynh (P&F)
Incumbent legislators usually don't draw a crowd of primary challengers unless there is already a leak in the boat, and Republican Sunny Mojonnier has been bailing water for the better part of a year. A generally lackluster image, spiced with charges she spent campaign money on an "image consultant" and used sergeants-at-arms to run personal errands, prompted three other Republicans to try to end her career. And therein lies the tale of Mojonnier's survival: Had she been forced to run one-to-one against any of them, she would have been sunk. But the GOP vote total was spread among four candidates, allowing Mojonnier to float through with less than 40 percent of the vote. Now she faces Deirdre Alpert, a school board member from Del Mar. Although Alpert plans an aggressive campaign, the registration numbers are just too daunting to overcome. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 76 (32% D - 55% R)
Thorne (D)
Hunter (R*)
Holmes (L)
Kline (P&F)
Incumbent Tricia Hunter beat back a very tough primary challenge from anti-abortion activist Connie Youngkin in June and should have no trouble with mental-health counselor Steve Thorne in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 77 (37% D - 50% R)
Connolly (D)
Bentley (R*)
Denis (L)
Edelman (P&F)
An overwhelming GOP district in and around San Diego. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 78 (46% D - 41% R)
Gotch (D)
Marston (R)
McWilliams (L)
Bardell (P&F)
This seat had been held rather firmly by Democrat Lucy Killea prior to Killea's election to the state Senate last winter to fill out the term of Larry Stirling, who was appointed a local judge. Her Senate victory was good-news, bad-news for Democrats. True, they gained a Senate seat but they lost Killea's Assembly seat when Jeff Marston defeated Mike Gotch in a special election that dove-tailed with the June primary. Both Marston and Gotch were renominated in that primary and now square off for the second time. Gotch actually collected more votes on election day than did Marston, but the election was already lost


Gotch

Marston

thanks to an aggressive Republican absentee-ballot campaign that saw Marston build up a 2000-vote advantage before the polls opened for business. Marston's victory was something of an upset. Many observers thought Gotch might win the seat outright in a special primary last March (he would have needed 50 percent, plus one vote). Gotch, whose council district was virtually the same area as the Assembly district, may have been hurt by his support for a controversial beachfront development not popular with locals. He was also hurt by the presence of Peace and Freedom candidate Jane Rocio Evans, who polled 4502 votes, the lion's share of which probably would have gone to Gotch. Evans is not on the November ballot, but P&F candidate Bob Bardell is, and he, too, could siphon votes away from Gotch. At this point, Marston's "incumbency" has been too brief to impact the race, which will be expensive and tough. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 79 (56% D - 31% R)
Chacon (D*)
Covalt (R)
Terrill (P&F)
Incumbent Peter Chacon, hampered by a poor legislative image, survived a primary challenge from two fellow Democrats but survived thanks to some last-minute help from Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and from Jesse Jackson. Businessman Roger Covalt faces an uphill battle, thanks to strong Democratic registration. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 80 (50% D - 38% R)
Peace (D*)
Kelly (R)
Bell (AI)
Myrseth (L)
Computer consultant Kevin Kelly won't be able to dislodge the Assembly's enfant terrible *— Steve Peace. SAFE DEMOCRATIC*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOVEMBER 1990 BALLOT PROPOSITIONS

PART II: THE BONDS

The California Legislature waited until the closing night of its 1989-90 session before passing a package of bond measures to be placed before voters on the November ballot. This took place after the deadline for *California Journal's* September 1990 issue, when our analyses of Propositions 124 through 141 were published. What follows is our analyses of the bond measures, Propositions 142 through 150. The entire package of analyses is available as a reprint in one pamphlet.

REPRINTS

Additional copies of this ballot booklet are available at the following rates: 100 or more copies, 54 cents each; 50-99 copies 82 cents each; 3-49 copies, $1.54 cents each; 1-2 copies $2.25 each. Please add 6.75 percent sales tax plus $2.50 handling to all orders. Send your check or MasterCard or Visa number to: *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. COPYRIGHT 1990 BY INFORMATION FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS, INC.

142 VETERANS BOND ACT

A $400 million tax-exempt general obligation bond to help veterans purchase farms, homes, and mobile homes through the Cal-Vet loan program.

Background: Since 1921 California voters have approved 23 bond acts aimed at helping veterans purchase homes and farms. The most recent measure, Proposition 76 in June 1988, authorized the sale of $510 million in bonds to finance the Cal-Vet program. The program, administered through the state Department of Veterans' Affairs, is self-supporting since principal and interest on the bonds is paid back with money received from loan payments. The 1990 bond act is estimated to fund 7300 new loans and cover demand through 1992.

Proposal: Proposition 142 authorizes the issuance of an additional $400 million in tax-exempt, general obligation bonds to continue funding the Cal-Vet housing program.

Arguments for: Proponents traditionally include veterans' groups which argue that measures like Proposition 142 continue a needed program that has been around for nearly 70 years. They maintain that the program is self-supporting and does not pose a burden to taxpayers.

Arguments against: There are attendant costs to all bond measures, including the increased cost of borrowing money associated with a large number of bond issues and, in this case, lost revenue to the state since bond holders pay no taxes on the income they receive.

143 HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES BOND ACT

A $450 million general obligation bond measure for construction projects in the state's public higher-education system.

Background: In the past, construction at the California's higher-education system (the University of California, California State University, the maritime academy and the various community colleges) has largely been financed by revenue from the sale of tidelands oil and from revenue bonds. However, less oil has been pumped from state oil fields in recent years and that has meant less money for higher education. The two most recent higher-education bond acts were approved by voters in November 1988 (Proposition 78) and June 1990 (Proposition 121). Since 1986 voters have approved three such bond measures, totalling $1.5 billion for capital improvements.

Proposal: Proposition 143 authorizes the sale of $450 million in general obligation bonds, with the revenue earmarked for construction of new buildings, renovation of existing buildings and equipment. All segments of the higher-education community are eligible, although specific projects must be approved in the annual budget act. The money must be used on existing campuses and may not be used to purchase any new campus site.

Arguments for: Governor George Deukmejian and former Governor Pat Brown, among others, argue that Proposition 143 is needed to allow UC, CSU and the community colleges to accommodate increases in student enrollments, adapt new technologies to the classroom, improve earthquake safety on campuses and provide a strengthened state economy through a more educated workforce. They also maintain that all three systems must continually upgrade their facilities to attract or retain top-flight faculty.

Arguments against: Led by members of the Libertarian Party, opponents argue that California's higher-education system is top-heavy with overpaid administrators. They also point out that voters have approved over $1 billion in bonds for higher education over the past two years and that it is time for those who use the system to pay their fair share.

144 NEW PRISON CONSTRUCTION BOND ACT (B)

A $450 million general obligation bond for the construction of state and local adult and youth correctional facilities.

Background: Since 1981 voters have approved eight separate bond measures, totaling $3.612 billion, for the construction of correctional facilities. Still, California prisons and county jails remain overcrowded, with the state prison system averaging more than 150 percent of capacity. The prison population is expected to exceed 150,000 inmates by 1995, nearly double the current 84,000 prisoners now incarcerated and still will be at 137 percent of capacity. Based on those projections, the Department of Corrections would need to construct more than 50,000 beds more than are now authorized under previous bond measures. The Youth Authority has a similar overcrowding problem at CYA facilities.

Proposal: Proposition 144 authorizes the sale of $450 million in general obligation bonds for the construction, renovation, remodeling of and deferred maintenance to state and local adult and youth correctional facilities. $15 million would be earmarked for multipurpose, community-based facilities that have been recommended by the Blue

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ribbon Commission on Inmate Population Management. Specific projects must be authorized by the Legislature. Interest payments on the bonds would add an additional $354 million to the total cost.

Arguments for: Proponents, led by Governor George Deukmejian, state Senator Robert Presley and Assemblyman Willard Murray, argue that the state prison population has increased 400 percent in the past decade, resulting in overcrowded conditions that place correctional staff in danger and hamper efforts to rehabilitate prisoners. They also point out that court orders in California and elsewhere have limited the number of prisoners in any one facility.

Arguments against: State Senator Alfred Alquist, Assemblyman John Vasconcellos and Vincent Schiraldi, a member of the state Blue Ribbon Commission on Inmate Population Management, argue that money spent on prisons is money not spent on education, welfare and health care. They point out that the billions spent on new prisons over the past 10 years have not made California safer, and that the prison system is a dismal failure.

145 CALIFORNIA HOUSING BOND ACT

A $325 million general obligation bond that provides financial assistance to first-time home buyers, as well as funds for emergency shelters, farmworker housing, and preservation and seismic safety rehabilitation for rental housing.

Background: Eight years ago, voters passed the First-Time Home Buyers Bond Act (Proposition 5, November 1982) which authorized some $200 million in bonds meant to provide a pool of money to help Californians purchase homes. The bonds were supposed to be revenue-neutral, or paid back by borrowers, much like loans made to veterans through the Cal-Vet program (see Proposition 142). But for a variety of reasons, the program didn't work very well and most of the money was never loaned out.

The state administers various housing programs that help meet the need for affordable and decent housing. Many of these programs provide low-interest loans or grants to build housing for low-income persons. Other programs provide low-interest mortgage loans for first-time buyers. Federal law currently sets income eligibility requirements, as well as the home-price limits, for the use of tax-exempt bond proceeds to finance single-family home mortgages for first-time home buyers. The income for a two-person family may not exceed the greater of 100 percent of the area median income, or the statewide median income. A three-person family may not have an income larger than 115 percent of the area median income or the statewide median income. The home price may not exceed 90 percent of the average area purchase price. There are two exceptions which may allow mortgages for buyers and on homes that exceed the limits: in "target areas" where at least 70 percent of the families have incomes that are 80 percent or less of the area median income; and in designated areas where the cost of housing is abnormally high, as determined by a formula comparing national and local costs. State law basically follows the federal mandates.

Proposal: Proposition 145 is divided into two sections. The first transfers the unused bonding authority from the First-Time Home Buyers Act of 1982 (between $185 million to $190 million) to a new program for first-time home buyers administered through the California Housing Finance Agency. The program would make interest-rate subsidies and deferred-payment, low-interest second-mortgage loans available to about 5000 potential home buyers. Among the various provisions: Eligible borrowers may not have owned a home during the previous three years except in certain targeted areas; income may not exceed 35 percent of the average cost of existing homes in their area; the purchase price may not exceed 100 percent of the average area purchase price of existing homes for one-and two-member households, and 110 percent for three-or-more-member households; the program is to serve first-time buyers in geographical areas where existing tax-exempt bonds do not meet the needs of moderate-income citizens; and the loans may be used for manufactured and factory-built homes. These bonds would no longer be revenue-neutral but would be paid for from the state's general fund.

The second section provides $125 million for rental and emergency housing: emergency shelters, $10 million; farmworker housing, $10 million; multifamily mortgage and bond insurance, $15 million; rental housing seismic rehabilitation, $45 million; and rental housing preservation, $45 million.

Arguments for: Governor George Deukmejian and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, among others, point out that home prices in California have doubled over the past 10 years, resulting in the fact that only one in five California families can afford to buy a median-priced home. Proposition 145, they argue, will help many of these families buy their first homes. The measure will also help provide seniors and low-income families with decent housing at affordable rents. Finally, they say Proposition 145 will provide shelter beds for homeless families.

Arguments against: Led by Assemblyman Dan Hauser, chairman of the Assembly Committee on Housing and Community Development, opponents say that Proposition 145 gives "a little to the poor, a lot to the rich, and everyone else pays for it." Hauser argues that eligibility limits are too high, allowing some people who make up to $80,000 a year to qualify for subsidized mortgage loans. Hauser also argues that Proposition 145 does nothing to increase the stock of affordable housing and amounts to welfare for the rich.

146 SCHOOL FACILITIES BOND ACT

An $800 million general obligation bond for elementary and secondary school facilities.

Background: Existing law creates a program — the State School Building Lease Purchase Program — through which the state grants money to school districts for construction and rehabilitation of schools. Money for the grants has come from a series of bonds approved by voters, including two $800 million bonds in 1988 (Proposition 75 in June and Proposition 79 in November), and another $800 million this past June (Proposition 123). California school districts will need to spend in excess of $5 billion over the next five years to build and rehabilitate schools.

Proposal: Proposition 146 authorizes an $800 million bond for elementary and secondary schools. The measure places some restrictions on how the money may be used. For instance, no more than $260 million may be used for districts eligible for funding but lacking funding priority, for asbestos abatement activities, purchase of portable classrooms, reconstruction or modernization of schools and child-care facilities. No more than $40 million may be used for air conditioning. The remaining $500 million is to be used for school construction. The state's share of land purchase may not exceed $2.25 million per acre, per project. According to the legislative analyst, total cost of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bond would be $1.43 billion ($800 million in principal and $630 in interest) over 20 years.

Arguments for: The ballot argument in favor of Proposition 146 is signed by, among others, both major party gubernatorial candidates — Democrat Dianne Feinstein and Republican Pete Wilson. They point out that California can anticipate one million new students over the next five years, which means building an average of 15 classrooms a day, 365 days a year. They argue that bonds are the best way to meet the financial burden imposed by this growth.

Arguments against: William McCord, president of the Citizens United on Taxes of Alameda County, argues that the state no longer has the resources to pay for more bonds and that other ways ought to be designed to pay for schools. He says voters have authorized over $2 billion in bonds for schools since November 1986, and that over half these bonds have yet to be issued. McCord proposes, among other methods, a voucher system that would allow parents to send their children to any school. He also says the need for more classrooms could be reduced through year-round schools, family planning and cracking down on immigration.

147 COUNTY CORRECTIONAL AND JUVENILE FACILITIES BOND ACT

A $225 million bond to construct, reconstruct, remodel, replace and perform deferred maintenance on county correctional and juvenile correctional facilities.

Background: Existing law contains various bond acts to pay for county correctional facilities, including a $500 million bond passed in 1988. According to the state Board of Corrections, county jails are currently overcrowded by about 15,000 inmates with an additional 25,000 beds needed by 1992, at a cost of nearly $1.3 billion. At least 18 counties, representing more than 80 percent of the state's jail inmate population, currently operate jails under court-ordered population caps. Since 1981 voters have authorized about $1.5 billion in bonds for county jails and juvenile projects.

Proposal: Proposition 147 will raise $225 million for county correctional and juvenile facilities, with the money dispersed as follows: $150 million for county jails and $50 million for county juvenile facilities. Another $25 million is earmarked for youth centers and shelters.

To qualify for funds from these bonds, counties must jump through several hoops: provide 25 percent in matching funds; adopt a plan to ban the detention of juveniles in county jails; make its facilities adequate for mentally ill and drunk detainees; and demonstrate that it has used alternatives to jail incarceration to the greatest extent possible.

Proposition 147 has roughly the same purpose as Proposition 86 (November 1988), however it adds a little twist: A county is prohibited from applying for this bond money if either its voters or its board of supervisors has approved a measure opposing a state prison site in the county. Counties that already have two or more prison sites are exempt from this provision.

Arguments for: State Senators Robert Presley and Ed Davis, both former law-enforcement officers, argue that county jails and juvenile facilities are overcrowded and therefore unsafe. They say that 18 counties are currently under court orders to reduce jail populations, a situation Proposition 147 would help to ease. The measure encourages counties to provide matching funds to help defray state costs.

Arguments against: Members of the Libertarian Party argue that more jails will not make Californians safer. Overcrowding, they argue, has resulted from government's war on drugs which is a misdirected effort. The state, they say, is authorizing too many bonds and should seek alternatives to traditional incarceration.

148 WATER RESOURCES BOND ACT

A $380 million general obligation bond act to provide funds for various water-related projects and purposes.

Background: In the past the state has made loans and grants available to local water agencies to enhance water quality and supply, selling general obligation bonds to finance the programs, which have been administered by the Department of Water Resources and the State Water Resources Control Board. Most of the $2 billion from previous bond measures has been allocated.

Proposal: Proposition 148 authorizes the sale of $380 million in general obligation bonds to finance a range of water-related activities. The allocations are as follows: $90 million for the Flood Control Bond Act for the state's share of non-federal costs associated with flood control projects; $185 million for the Water Quality and Conservation Bond Law for water reclamation, border-area pollution control, small community sewage projects, groundwater treatment and recharge; $80 million to finance safe drinking water and drought-relief programs; $25 million for loans to agencies for construction of water projects.

Arguments for: Proponents — led by assemblymen Bill Filante, Norman Waters and Steve Peace — argue that since the state's current water-delivery system is fully subscribed, these bonds are needed to help various agencies meet ever-increasing demands for water, as well as to protect people from floods. The money will also help clean up rivers and streams, provide help to drought-stricken areas and build flood-control projects.

Arguments against: Opponents, led by members of the Libertarian Party, argue that voters are passing too many bond measures. They suggest turning water supplies over to private firms and putting an end to government subsidies of water for corporate agriculture. They argue for a free market in water where users pay the actual cost of producing the water.

149 PARK, RECREATION, AND WILDLIFE ENHANCEMENT ACT

A $437 million general obligation park bond for the purchase and development of state and local park and recreational facilities, and wildlife habitats.

Background: Since 1964 California voters have approved six park bond measures, worth about $2.3 billion. Like Proposition 149, most of those propositions have been placed on the ballot by the Legislature. The 1988 park-bond proposal, however, grew out of an initiative campaign (Proposition 70) that differed from legislative proposals in several significant ways. For one thing, it authorized $776 million, more than twice the amount of any previous park bond. For another, it gave the money directly to state and local agencies rather than place revenues in a fund distributed by the Legislature. It designated many specific proj-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ects for funding, and it focused on acquisition rather than development.

Proposal: Proposition 149 authorizes a $437 million general obligation bond for parks, with the money divided up as follows: $182 million for local-assistance grants and related state administrative costs; $108 million for acquisition, development, rehabilitation and restoration of real property in the state park system; $27 million for fish and wildlife habitat; $11 million for the California Tahoe Conservancy; $1 million to the Department of General Services for Capitol Park in Sacramento; $15 million for the Coastal Conservancy; $2 million for grants to local public and nonprofit agencies for urban stream restoration; $10 million to the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy; $6 million to the Department of Boating and Waterways for shoreline stabilization and for loans to marinas; $1 million for development of the parks department's SNO-PARK program; $18 million for metropolitan museums; $5 million for a Lake Tahoe research and education center; $31 million to the Department of Forestry for fire protection; and $20 million in an unallocated account. According to the legislative analyst, the total cost of this bond, including principal and interest, would be $733 million over 20 years.

Arguments for: Proponents — among them, state Senator Lucy Killea, Assemblyman Jim Costa, Robert Thomas of the California Park and Recreation Society, and Iola Williams of the League of California Cities — say that Proposition 149 will benefit neighborhood parks because every city, county and park district in the state will receive some grants. They say the measure will preserve important natural areas like urban rivers and waterfront parks, expand the state park and campground systems, and preserve wildlife habitats.

Arguments against: State Senator Quentin Kopp, and Jay Curtis and Don Christen, who represent various taxpayers' associations, argue that more than $2 billion in bonds have been approved by voters since 1974, and that more than half those bonds have not been sold. They say $2 billion is enough. Parks and park programs, they argue, have become a favorite device for special-interest initiatives (see Propositions 128, 130, 134 and 138). They conclude that the state is authorizing too many bonds.

150 COUNTY COURTHOUSE FACILITY CAPITAL EXPENDITURE BOND ACT

A $200 billion general obligation bond for the construction and maintenance of county courthouses.

Background: A survey of California's 58 counties, completed in 1989, indicated that the current trial-court backlog — and continued rise in the number of civil and criminal cases that end up in trial — could increase the number of judicial positions by 43 percent by 1998. Construction or renovation of county courthouses to accommodate this increase could cost as much as $2.24 billion by 1998. In the past, these facilities have been financed in a number of ways, including direct state appropriations, federal grants, local bonds and surcharges and assessments.

Proposal: Proposition 150 will authorize $200 million in general obligation bonds to build, remodel or replace county courthouses. Counties that participate must provide 25 percent in matching funds, although the Legislature may waive this requirement to speed construction. Counties must also develop a plan to deal with trial-court delays, and provide data that shows that existing facilities are inadequate.

Arguments for: Chief Justice Malcolm Lucas, among others, argues that the state has not passed a bond act for county courthouses for more than 20 years, a period during which the state has experienced explosive growth in county caseloads. The result is a justice system that is fraught with delay and overcrowding. Courthouse construction projects are often low-priority for many counties beset with other financial burdens. Proposition 150, Lucas says, is a modest step toward rectifying what studies show is one of the state's most pressing needs.

Arguments against: Members of the Libertarian Party argue that the state is issuing too many bonds and that eventually, the cumulative burden will threaten the state's bond rating. They claim that the justice system is overburdened because law-enforcement officials prosecute too many victimless crimes, such as marijuana possession.

151 CHILD CARE FACILITIES FINANCING ACT

A $30 million general obligation bond to provide loans to child-care providers to acquire, renovate and construct child-care facilities and to buy equipment for these facilities.

Background: According to the Senate Health and Human Services Committee, many more children need child-care facilities than there are facilities to accommodate them. The State Department of Education, for instance, says that licensed child care is available for 500,000 children, while up to 2.5 million children need the care. The increased demand is due, say experts, to the increased number of families where both parents work outside the home, the increase in single-parent families and the fact that many mothers return to work soon after giving birth.

Proposal: Proposition 151 creates a nine-member Child Care Facilities Authority to provide loans to child-care providers, and to set loan payments at levels sufficient to cover the costs of the bonds and administrative costs. The loans may be granted to state and local agencies, nonsectarian profit or non-profit private organizations and church-affiliated facilities, to the extent permitted by the state and federal constitutions. Church-affiliated facilities must be open to any child and may not include religious instruction in the child-care program.

At least 30 percent of loan funds must be available to non-profit agencies. Up to 5 percent of the funds (or $5 million, whichever is less) may be made available to private agencies that do not meet federal tax-exempt status. Recipient agencies must commit to providing 15 percent matching funds, although the Authority may waive this requirement.

The program would have a negligible effect on the state general fund, since loan payments would cover the cost of issuing and administering the bonds.

Arguments for: Proponents — including the California Children's Lobby, the state PTA, and state senators Rebecca Morgan, Diane Watson and Robert Presley — say these bonds are needed to fill a growing gap in child care. The low-interest loans will encourage child-care providers to expand or to start facilities.

Arguments against: Opponents, including members of the Libertarian Party, say that state-sponsored child care in other countries often started as small projects, then costs ballooned out of control. They point out that in Sweden, child care takes up nearly 7 percent of the budget. Government, they argue, cannot and should not do everything. They suggest tax credits or deductions for working parents who require child-care facilities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Power of Ideas in Mass Transit.

As this state's economy, population and transportation needs grow, Californians have demanded affordable solutions to traffic congestion and deteriorating mobility.

Particularly in our urban areas, those solutions include dramatic enhancement of mass transit options. As in other modes of transportation, First Boston has emerged as a leader in providing imaginative financing to move California's commuters.

Earlier this summer, San Diego's Metropolitan Transit Development Board inaugurated light rail service on the Bayside Extension. First Boston managed the bond sale that provided the funding.

In July, the Los Angeles County Transportation Commission launched light rail service on the Blue Line between Long Beach and Los Angeles. Again, First Boston managed the bond sales which provided the needed capital. Each issue was custom-tailored to meet the unique needs of the particular issuer, molded to the best use of available revenue and credit, and was responsive to the changing demands of the capital markets.

These transactions demonstrate a commitment to transportation solutions and an understanding of transit development financing gained in our work across the country and around the globe.

As California moves into a new era, First Boston will be here—ahead of the traffic—meeting the mobility needs of a vibrant state with the power of financial ideas that produce tangible results.

101 California St., Suite 4300
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 765-7000

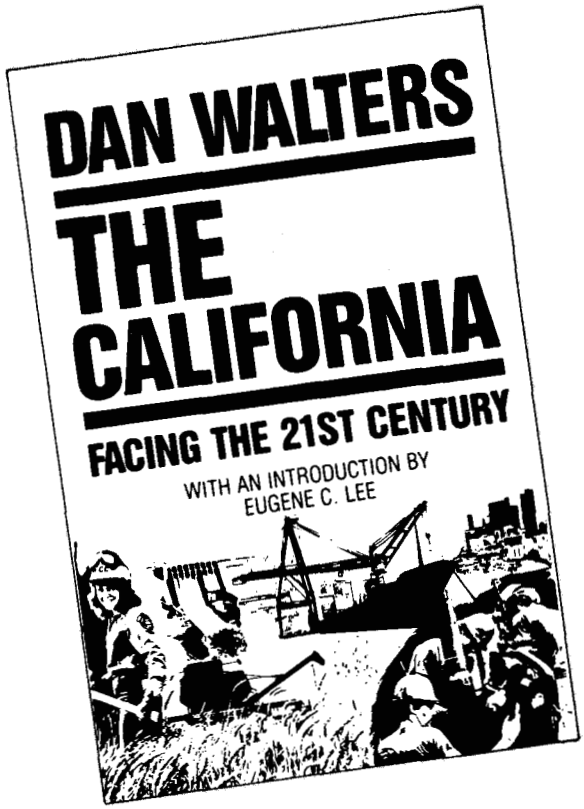
333 South Grand Ave., Suite 2200
Los Angeles, CA 90071
(213) 253-2000

First Ideas, Then Results.

FIRST BOSTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books from California Journal



The New California — Facing the 21st Century

by Dan Walters
with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee's* well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which served as the basis for this book. It describes the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful book has become a basic reference on California since its publication in 1987. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: $8.95.

NEW! California Government and Politics Annual, 1990-91. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. 8½ x 11", 128 pages. $7.95 paper.

Almanac of California Government and Politics, 7th Edition. Contains 192 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information, and much more. 1989, 5½ x 8½", 185 pages. *Special Savings!* Was $8.95, now $6.95.

Cartoon History of California Politics, *by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown.* An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 8", 156 pages, paperback. Price: $5.95.

Index. A yearly index to the *California Journal* for fast and easy research. 1970-89. Turns your magazine into a state government reference library. $10.00 per year.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9", 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

California's Budget Dance: Issues and Process, *by Richard Krolak.* California's $50 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. But the budget process is complicated and murky, often taking place behind closed doors. Now comes *California's Budget Dance,* a 128-page book that clearly outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now; anyone can be a force in the process and understand what's going on. 1990, 5½ x 8½", 116 pages. $7.95, paper.

Please add 6.75% sales tax plus $2.50 handling to each order. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own and send it with payment (VISA and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TERM LIMITS

Is this a far, far better thing than we have ever done before?

By Charles Price and Ed Bacciocco

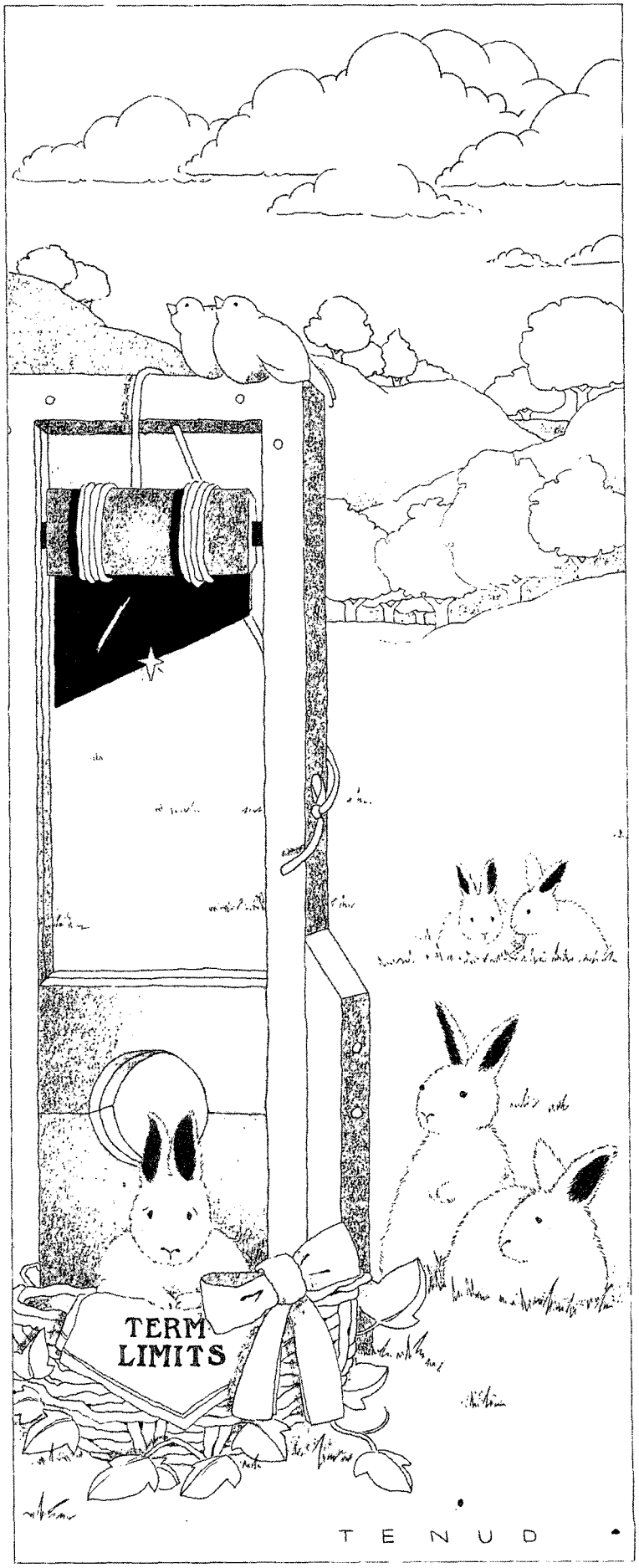
"Throw the bums out" is the occasional battle cry of those disenchanted with their government. And this November California voters may get a chance to breathe life into the slogan. Because this November two initiative measures on the ballot (Propositions 131 and 140) limit the number of terms anyone may serve in state elective office.

Those who favor limits argue that they would: Restore competitive elections since it has proven almost impossible in recent years to dislodge an entrenched incumbent, particularly where districts are dominated by one political party; encourage an infusion of new energy and fresh enthusiasm in public offices while reducing officeholder "burnout;" restore the citizen-politician model to a state government dominated by career politicians; and create new openings for minorities to win public office.

Opponents, however, say limits are a bad idea because voters should have the right to vote for whomever they want; good legislators are turned out of office along with the bad; strong experienced legislative leaders are needed, otherwise the legislature would become dominated by the governor, lobbyists, the bureaucracy, or staff; it is critically important to have the institutional memory that experienced members bring to elective offices; and term limits could lead to more expensive campaigns because officeholders "maxing out" might challenge incumbents in other offices.

But term limits are not new to California; they have been in effect, with mixed results, in San Mateo County for a dozen years. Some San Mateo County incumbents like limits; others aren't so sure, and the entire experiment offers little guidance for how such a system would work statewide. And voters in San Francisco passed a term-limit initiative this past June that will not impact the San Francisco Board of Supervisors for several more years.

Not surprisingly, most incumbent state officeholders



Ed Bacciocco, formerly a San Mateo County supervisor and one-time Assembly candidate, was one of the leaders in that county's term limits movement. At present, he serves as coordinator of the public administration program at California State University, Chico. Charles M. Price teaches political science at Chico and is a frequent contributor to the California Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are opposed to the measures, and legislative Democrats, who have the most incumbents and therefore the most to lose, are expected to wage a vigorous and expensive effort to kill the two measures.

November's term-limit initiatives (see Propositions 131 and 140, *CJ*, September 1990) both limit how long an officeholder may hold onto his or her job, but otherwise the two measures are quite different.

Proposition 131, authored by Attorney General John Van de Kamp, is a comprehensive ethics plan designed as one of the cornerstones of his gubernatorial agenda. He kicked off the campaign for the measure by standing on the steps of the state Capitol and declaring, "It's time to drain the swamp." In addition to the term limits, the measure limits gifts to elected officials, bans honoraria, sets new limits on campaign contributions and provides for partial public financing of campaigns.

The second term-limits initiative, Proposition 140, is authored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, who is also a former Assembly member. In addition to term limits, Proposition 140 would cut the Legislature's budget by approximately 40 percent and reduce retirement benefits of legislators.

The Schabarum proposal is far more restrictive. Under its provisions, Assembly members would be limited to three terms or six years, and senators would get two terms or eight years. Holders of state constitutional offices, with the exception of the new insurance commissioner who is not covered by the proposal, would also be limited to two terms, or eight years.

The Van de Kamp measure would give state legislators 12 years in office, six terms for Assembly members and three terms for Senators. Members of the state Board of Equalization would also get 12 years in office. But holders of statewide office would be limited to two terms, or eight years in office.

It is important to note that, under Proposition 131, if an official has "maxed out" in one office, he or she could sit out a term and then run again for the same post with a fresh slate. Thus, if 131 had been in effect in the 1950s, Tom Bane (first elected to the Assembly for three terms from 1959-1964, sat out five terms, and was later reelected to the Assembly in 1974) would have had a full, new six-term Assembly limit to 1986. But if 140 had been law, he would have used up his Assembly allotment in 1964 and would have been unable to return. Currently, about a dozen members in each house have served more than 12 years in the same chamber, although with both measures each legislator gets a fresh slate with the November election.

Voters angered by the results of two separate FBI investigations of the state Legislature leading to the indictment and/or conviction of several legislators, discouraged by the all-time record delay in getting the state budget approved this past summer and frustrated by California government's failure to effectively grapple with key state problems seem very receptive to term limits. A California Poll conducted in late August showed few voters had heard of the measures but, after being told summaries of each measure, displayed strong support for both proposals. Proposition 131 had the support of 61 percent, with 25 percent opposed. Proposition 140 had 67 percent in favor and 20 percent against. This survey was taken, however, before legislators launched their campaign to defeat the measures.

Should both measures pass, the one that receives the most votes will prevail, and opponents fear that the more restrictive Proposition 140 could prove the more attractive. For one thing, it has that provision cutting the Legislature's budget. But it also harkens back to the June 1988 primary election. In that election there were two competing campaign-finance reform initiatives on the ballot. Though each was approved, voters gave greater support to Proposition 73 which promised reform *without* public financing of elections (58 percent "yes") rather than the Common Cause-backed Proposition 68 (53 percent "yes"), which would have established publicly financed campaigns.

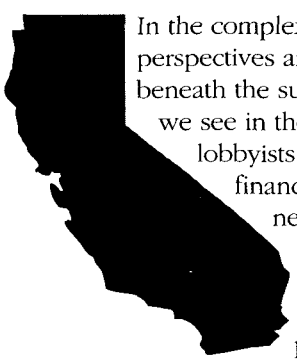
Although both sides tout what they perceive as the likely results of term limits, there are few examples around to serve as a guide.

Most likely it is the state's current legislators who eventually will bump up against the term limits, a situation that would result in substantial turnover. For example, of the current Assembly crop, only 18 have not already served six years, while 26 have served as many as 12 years. In the Senate, all but six have served for eight years and 16 have served for 12 years.

Among statewide officeholders, term limits would not be as significant. California has an unofficial tradition of a two-term governor; no one has held the office for more than two terms since Earl Warren. There has also been substantial turnover in most other statewide offices as well, with the notable exception of secretary of state. That office was held from 1911 to 1970 (except for three years) by the father-and-son team of Frank C. and Frank M. Jordan. Current incumbent March Fong Eu has served in the job since 1975. This November she will be running for

Advertisement

Get beneath the surface.



In the complex world of California politics today, shallow perspectives are not hard to find. But how do you get beneath the surface? Who are the people behind the faces we see in the papers? Who are the office holders, lobbyists, campaign consultants, and campaign financiers? To understand California politics you need the in-depth insights of professional political journalists. You need a solid perspective backed by the collective experience of over a century of California political coverage. You need . . .

The California Political Almanac

Written by **Dan Walters** and members of the *Sacramento Bee* Capitol Bureau.

To order send $34.75 (includes tax & shipping) by check payable to:

PDR Pacific Data Resources

Pacific Data Resources
P.O. Box 1922
Santa Barbara, CA 93116-1922

Credit card orders call toll free 1-800-346-8355

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her fifth term. Also, lengthy tenure has been the rule on the Board of Equalization; term limits would have a sizable impact on Board members.

The only experience most Californians have with officeholder term limits is at the federal level with the two-term presidency (22nd Amendment to the Constitution). This amendment was promoted in the late 1940s by Republicans after President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected to four straight presidential terms (the depression and World War II made voters reluctant to "change horses in mid-stream.") A few years ago a group of Reagan loyalists launched an effort to repeal the 22nd, providing President Reagan the option to run for a third term, but it got nowhere.

However, in one California county, San Mateo supervisorial term limits have been the law for 12 years. In 1978 a coalition of reformist politicians, environmentalists and the League of Women Voters placed into the county charter a three consecutive term, 12-year limit for supervisors.

San Mateo supervisors are somewhat akin to state legislators in that they hold a full-time job with a salary of about $50,000 per year. With varying degrees of enthusiasm, all five current supervisors believe term limits have been beneficial to county government. Even Supervisor Bill Schumacher, the first member of the present board to be forced to "retire" — he will complete his third and last term in 1992 — supports the term limits concept and believes that too many public officials have a tendency "to stay in office too long."

Supervisor Tom Huening (author of the failed Proposition 119 in June 1990 to establish an independent reapportionment commission) is a more recent convert to term limits. However, the defeat of Proposition 119 convinced him that term limits made sense. "Term limits mean there will be more open seats available and therefore more competition." Huening believes that 12 years is plenty of time to spend on the (supervisorial) job.

Supervisor Tom Nolan said, "I feel that having term limits has been healthy for us." He argued that before there were term limits, some incumbents stayed on the Board too long. "They were able to regularly get re-elected because of incumbent advantages, but they weren't contributing members."

Concurring with this view, Supervisor Hannah Eshoo commented, "I support the concept of term limits. I'm not so arrogant as to believe I'm irreplaceable. There are many good people who could take my place on the Board. Term limits help give me a sense of urgency to accomplish as much as I can in the time I have on the Board." Supervisor Mary Griffin, while having some mixed feelings on the subject, said, "I can appreciate the need for a fresh approach. Term limits help us from getting too complacent."

San Francisco Examiner political columnist Don West, whose beat includes San Mateo County government, contends that term limits have a salutary effect. "You don't get dynasties built up," he said. West said that of the eight county governments he has covered "in at least three a member of a family would succeed a relative who had been in the same seat for 20 or 30 years."

However, Mark Simon, a reporter for the *Peninsula Times Tribune*, has reservations about the positive effects of term limits. He contends that term limits were supposed to encourage people to run for office who were dedicated to the public interest. But Simon says this has not happened. "The present [San Mateo] board has tried three times to raise their own salaries and enrich their own pension plan."

While San Mateo supervisors are supportive of the concept of term limits, they believe they should be "reasonable" limits — such as their own three-term, 12-year format. After all, as Supervisor Griffin commented, "It takes time to grow into the office."

Eshoo said her main concern about the term-limits movement is that it should not be vindictive. "Most people getting elected to office for the first time are in their 30s or 40s. They deserve reasonable salaries and a decent pension system. Elected officials should not be penalized for seeking public office," she said. Concurring, Supervisor Nolan argued that unless an official were personally wealthy, it could be difficult to scramble and find a new job after one had reached his or her term limits.

For Supervisor Nolan, who is openly gay, one of the strongest arguments for term limits is that it may open the door for other minorities to have a chance at getting elected. "I'd love for my successor to be Black or Hispanic."

But if one of the main objectives of term limits is to attract to office people who do not view government as a career, the San Mateo experience provides little guidance. Several members of the board are openly ambitious about seeking higher office. Eshoo, for example, has already run for the state Assembly, and Huening thrust himself on the statewide scene through his sponsorship of the reapportionment initiative.

Still, in an age when it has become almost impossible to dislodge an entrenched incumbent, Evelyn Stanton, League of Women Voters member and one of the leaders of the term limit-effort in San Mateo in 1978, believes that politicians who are in office too long begin to change. They think mainly of getting reelected, not of the needs of the constituents. "The limitation is more important today than ever before," she maintains.

Advertisement

Contact:
Kathy Lynch
201 Lathrop Way
Sacramento 95815

916 924-8288

STATEWIDE
INFORMATION
SYSTEMS

FOR ALL YOUR CAMPAIGN COMPUTER NEEDS.
LET STATEWIDE INFORMATION SYSTEMS WORK FOR YOU!

Mailing Labels • Walk Lists • Phone Lists
Laser Letters • Targeting Reports
Polling Samples • Voter Profiles
Customized Voter Contact Materials
And Much More.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROSTRUM

The budget

I want to correct one error in an otherwise insightful article on the recent budget debate (see "The budget battle," *CJ*, September 1990). The article reports, "In June a group of Republicans, led by Tom McClintock, held a press conference that essentially torpedoed the governor's strategy for Proposition 98." In fact, I did not lead the press conference, I did not attend the press conference, and I did not support the position taken by the members who were at the press conference.

TOM McCLINTOCK
Assemblyman, 36th District
Thousand Oaks

Housing

I was troubled by your recent article on housing (see "The impossible dream," *CJ*, July 1990) because your characterization of government's role in housing was misleading. You indicate that "a substantial amount of money" has been provided for first-time buyers. This is wrong. Clearly, most first-time buyers in California receive little if any help from existing state and federal housing programs. Most urban buyers, for example, cannot participate in the Federal Housing Administration program because the loan limit is very low compared to the relatively high housing prices.

In addition, although the California Housing Finance Authority helped 6733 households purchase single-family homes during 1988-89, this hardly made a dent in the state's affordability crisis since as many as two million California renters would qualify to buy a home virtually anywhere else in the country. In June fewer than one in five households in California could afford to buy the median-priced home, which costs nearly $200,000. The problem is worse in areas like Los Angeles, San Francisco and Orange County.

The California Association of Realtors has aggressively supported Governor George Deukmejian's efforts to provide additional help to first-time buyers. There is no one solution to the crisis, but the governor's efforts present a good step in the right direction.

JIM ANTT JR.
President, California Association
of Realtors

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,178 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure. The full texts of all initiatives may be obtained from the Secretary of State's election division, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814.*

New in circulation:

TAX AND SPENDING LIMITS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Mark Buckley of Placerville, that would require increases in homeowners' property tax exemption to 40 percent of full value, $150,000 maximum; 55 percent of assessed value and $200,000 maximum for seniors. The maximum annual increase would be 5 percent. It also increases the *ad valorem* real-property tax limitations to 1.3 percent of full cash value, redefines assessed value determined by a formula utilizing current housing costs, and limits increases to 40 percent for five years following enactment. Local government special taxes could be approved with a 55 percent vote. (January 4, 1991)

Continuing in circulation:

FIREARMS REGULATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Kevin Patterson of Camino. (September 20th, June 1990 *CJ*)

STATE ADMINISTERED AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE, AUTOMOBILE CLAIMS COURT — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Carmen Gonzalez and Angelo Paparella of Los Angeles, Rob Lavis of Oakland, Bill Zimmerman of Topanga Canyon and Proposition 103 author Harvey Rosenfield of Santa Monica. (October 18th, August 1990 *CJ*)

WORKERS, VACATION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Richard Such of Palo Alto. (October 22nd, August 1990 *CJ*)

STATE OPERATED AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE. AUTO CLAIMS. ADMINISTRATIVE COURT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Voter Revolt members Angelo Paparella, Rob Lavis, Bill Zimmerman and Proposition 103 sponsor Harvey Rosenfield. (December 13th, September 1990 *CJ*).

Failed to qualify:

TRIAL BY JURY, INSTRUCTIONS — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Marion McEwen and Wayne Nygren of Hayward. (August 13th, May 1990 *CJ*)

ALIEN LAND OWNERSHIP — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Mark Peters of Glendora. (August 17th, May 1990 *CJ*)

PEST ERADICATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Democratic state Senator Art Torres and Patricia Prickett of Hacienda Heights. (September 7th, May 1990 *CJ*)

PRIVATE PROPERTY, COMPENSATION FOR PUBLIC USE — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Thomas Herman of Crescent City. (September 11th, May 1990 *CJ*)

PESTICIDE REGULATION AND APPLICATION — an initiative statute, sponsored by Oscar Singer of Los Angeles. (September 11th, May 1990 *CJ*)

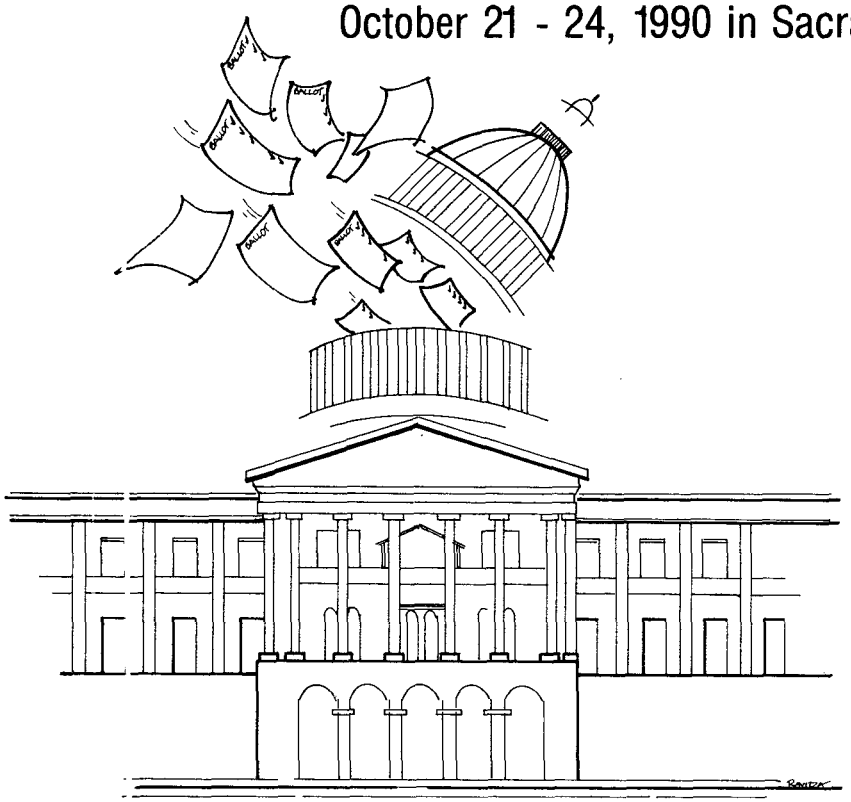
Source: Secretary of State

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Capitol Focus made the words in my textbook come alive!"

ANNOUNCING:
"ELECTION 1990"

A Capitol Focus Program For High School Students
October 21 - 24, 1990 in Sacramento



The California Center is pleased to announce this fall's Capitol Focus political awareness program, October 21-24, 1990, in Sacramento. Participants will have the opportunity to immerse themselves in the issues and processes of state government and politics during sessions with professionals representing the legislative and executive branches, lobbying organizations, business, the media, and the justice system. One student said, "this was the best organized and most informative program I have ever been involved in."

October's program features a keynote address on Elections 1990 and an overview of statewide issues; a domestic issues debate; a session on campaign ethics with association and contract lobbyists; a seminar on how media influences elections with journalists and press secretaries; a legal keynote address; a Vietnam retrospective with active local veterans, and a panel discussion on the governor's race.

Other special activities include a simulated legislative hearing to be conducted by the students; open forums on campaign finance, the initiative process, legalizing drugs, and the death penalty; a dance and recreational activities; visits to Sacramento historical sites; a River Boat Cruise; the "CapitolSearch" investigative interviews focusing on twelve issues currently facing California voters and legislators; and a program-culminating "ballot" for participants to cast their votes on issues examined during the program.

Fee for the four-day/three-night program is $225 which includes lodging (triple occupancy average), reference materials published by the CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, all breakfasts and dinners, and admission to program activities. Transportation to the program, lunches, incidentals and optional activities are not included. Program fees for previous participants have been covered by the students themselves, parents, their school district or student body funds, local businesses, foundations and service clubs, or by their legislators.

For more information please contact:
Capitol Focus
1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814
916-443-2229

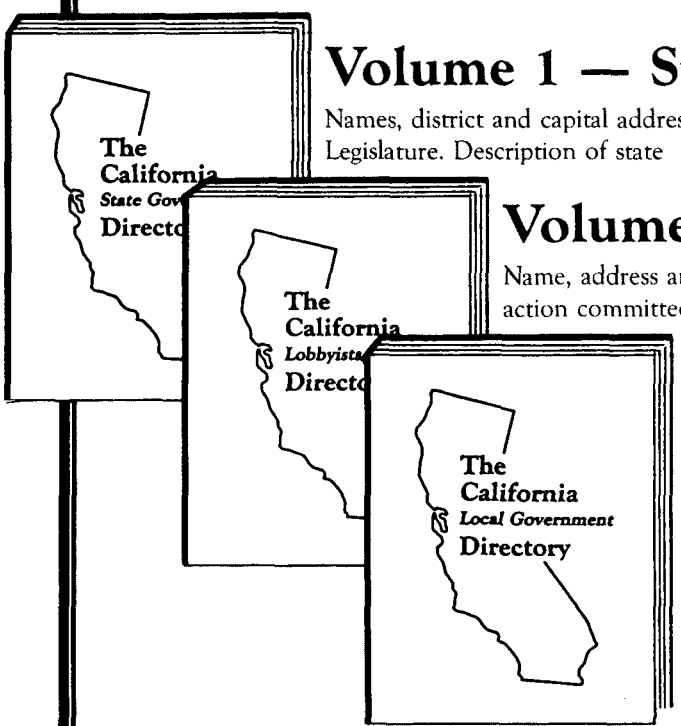
CAPITOL FOCUS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get 1990 Free, if you order 1991-92 now!

The California Directories
and Update Service

The three-volume set is an indispensible tool for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press and government agencies who need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. *The California Directories* provide a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy making.



Volume 1 — State Government

Names, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, and staff of the Legislature. Description of state departments and their top staff. 144 pages, 8½ x 11".

Volume 2 — Lobbyists/PAC's

Name, address and phone numbers of lobbyists, firms and employers and political action committees. 186 pages, 8½ x 11".

Volume 3 — Local Government

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. About 300 pages, 8½ x 11".

"The indispensible government reference tool."

Special Offer: Buy 1991-92 and get 1990 Free!

Order now for the 1991-92 biennium and get 1990 Free: three years of up-to-date information for only $195.00. A unique information system at a unique price!

This set is a joint production of **State Net®**, the nation's leading on-line 50-state legislative and regulatory reporting service, and ***California Journal.*** For information about electronic versions of Volumes 1 & 2, contact Wayne Kessler at State Net, 916/444-0840.

ORDER FORM

Three years 1990-1992 includes 3 volumes and updates in 1990, new volumes in early 1991 and three more updates through 1992.

☐ Volume I, $95.00.
☐ Volume II, $65.00.
☐ Volume III, $65.00.
☐ All Three, $195.00.
(an additional savings of $30.00)

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
_____ Zip _____
Telephone # _____ / _____

Please add 6.75 percent sales tax plus $2.50 handling to all orders.

Send check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

For immediate orders or more information call 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The changing nature of press coverage of elections

By Walter Zelman

Editor's note. Walter Zelman was formerly the director of Common Cause in California. He left that job to run, unsuccessfully, for the new past of insurance commissioner, where he experienced first-hand the limits of press coverage.

In this age of television, does newspaper coverage of statewide elections make any difference? An analysis suggests that results typically range between "minimal" and "modest."

But there are exceptions, and since some elections are frequently decided by a few percentage points, very small impacts can loom very large. As a result, even though polls show that most voters get nearly all of their campaign information from television, those who actively engage in campaigns still give substantial weight to what is written about their campaigns.

Three distinctions seem particularly helpful when thinking about the impacts of newspaper coverage. First, we should draw a distinction between impacts on insiders and on outsiders. Newspaper campaign coverage will have far more impact on the former — those who care more and follow campaigns much more closely — than on the general public. A second helpful distinction is long-term vs. short-term. The impact of a newspaper story — however explosive or revealing — will be minimal if it runs for one day. But candidates will find the medium much more powerful when they perceive it as a source of long-term image or identity building, or when stories play for days and days. Finally, there is the distinction between stories that are positive or negative. It is far more likely that newspaper reporting has influence when the story is negative.

The reasons for the limited impact of newspapers are obvious. "Paid" media — commercials — will generally communicate a stronger, clearer message and reach the voter more often. Even in a hotly contested gubernatorial race — when newspapers devote the most space to election coverage — "paid" media messages will overwhelm all "free" media messages, newspapers included. As one consultant noted, "In the last three days I've seen one article

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about Feinstein, and it was kind of neutral — but I've seen four of her ads."

In low-visibility and usually less-expensive races, "paid" media may be employed more sparingly, and thus may be less potent. But in such races, newspaper and other "free" media are likely to be almost nonexistent. In today's political environment, with public interest in politics and campaigns at historical lows, candidates in most statewide races will find the effort to achieve significant free media coverage (print or electronic) a frustrating and futile effort.

Recent trends in newspaper campaign coverage acknowledge the reality that — for better or worse — paid media is by far the dominant form of candidate-to-public communication. Those trends include routine coverage and, most recently, detailed analyses of virtually every ad produced by major statewide candidates. Certainly, the newspapers' latest efforts to distinguish among truth, exaggeration and falsehood in television ads are positive steps, and they may produce restraint in the 30-second distortion business. But it is also an acknowledgement of where lies the power to reach voters.

"Repetition," says Republican consultant Alan Hoffenblum, "is the key. Most candidates simply can't get a message across often enough in the free media for it to have lasting impact, and virtually all agree that 'one-day stories' mean almost nothing."

Adds Sal Russo, another consultant to Republicans, "I can live with almost any story if it only lasts one day. Thank God parakeets [the only ones who see a print story more than once] don't vote."

Readership data appear to support such an analysis. Less than half (43 percent) of Americans (admittedly, a higher percentage of voters) report that they read a newspaper "yesterday," and 50 percent of those spent less than 30 minutes with it. Not only are most of these readers unlikely to have read each day's one or two election stories — often "buried" deep inside the paper — but they may be the least likely to be impacted by them. Those upon whom new election information might have the most impact — those without significant partisan or other political dispositions — are probably the least likely readers. Paid media has a much better chance of connecting with these key voters.

Even when voters fairly open to persuasion do follow election news in newspapers, they will generally find that coverage to be both skeptical and balanced. As a result, "good" stories, stories that may place a candidate in a consistently favorable light, are hard to come by. Opponents get adequate opportunity to make their case, and print journalists, being generally the more sophisticated reporters, consciously fight being manipulated by candidates and campaigns. Most become legitimately skeptical, and often cynical, about candidates' exotic efforts to stage press events that may produce "film at 11."

Many television reporters — with less time and expertise to bring to the story — may be prone to read from the press release and report what they are shown. But newspaper reporters are far more likely to seek out alternative analyses, or — as former Deukmejian press aide Donna Lucas, who is now running the Tom Hayes-for-treasurer campaign, says — to "bend the story." Newspaper reporters are the most skeptical, the most cynical, and the hardest to manipulate. "It is hubris," says Democratic consultant Clint Reilly, "to try to control them."

Not only will newspaper journalists seek balance in any one story, but they also, as John Van de Kamp staffer Fred Register suggests, may seek "symmetry" over time. While politicians often find that one bad story can lead to another — or at least to another version of the old bad story — journalists may be prone — consciously or not — to give the candidate's opponent a rougher time than usual when given the next opportunity.

None of which is meant to assert that the pressure towards balance and symmetry results in a manipulation or distortion of the news. Events — such as the rising-up of the McMartin child-abuse case during Ira Reiner's unsuccessful campaign for attorney general — may weigh in heavily for or against a particular candidate, and newspapers will not skew those events to reduce their impact. But the tendency towards balance makes it difficult for a candidate to use or manipulate newspapers. Events may win a print-media war; but even the smoothest press secretary won't.

All of these factors — the dominance of paid media, the difficulty of reaching enough voters with enough of the same message, the very limited coverage of many statewide races, the probabilities that high percentages of readers will be the already committed, and the sense of balance and skepticism that newspaper reporters bring to their work — combine to limit the potential impact of newspaper campaign coverage. Such a conclusion seems especially compelling when applied to the general public — whose interest in state politics is extremely modest — and in the general election, when partisan cues become relevant and more influential. In the closing days of a close and top-of-the-ticket election, the quantity and placement of newspaper stories may be such that large numbers of swing voters will see and read them. But it is at such times that print reporters will be especially cautious to balance stories, and these can rarely have the impact of deluges of ads and slate cards.

"I can live with almost any story if it only lasts one day. Thank God parakeets don't vote."

— Sal Russo

But if the general public's reaction to print coverage of campaigns is low key, the same can hardly be said of candidates and those closest to them. If voters read little and retain less, most candidates read every word and everything between the words. "Unlike television stories, newspapers leave tracks," says Joe Caves, who works for Democratic state Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara.

In reality, the normal reaction of most candidates and staff to newspaper stories may be "overreaction."

"The good candidates," says Hoffenblum, "get the big picture quickly." But for all their experience, many candidates and their staffs are thin-skinned, constantly under pressure and likely to hear and feel the reactions of spouses, friends, contributors, and other insiders to every story — good, bad or indifferent. Even letters to the editor in the weekly throwaways may be blown out of proportion. Moreover, as Register points out, much of what a campaign has to do — raise money and then raise more money — is boring and repetitious. As a result, Register suggests, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enormous levels of energy, anxiety and angst that campaigns inevitably generate have few outlets, one being the effort win free press. Thus, the battle for press, and the analysis of it can become a campaign obsession, sometimes consuming even the consultant whose primary job, as Hoffenblum suggests, should be reminding the candidate that good stories are nice but don't mean that much; that even bad stories will go away; and that budgetary goals for the week have not yet been met.

Finally, we cannot ignore the natural urge to communicate. It lives in most of us, especially those in public life. Most candidates, one suspects, genuinely believe in themselves. They believe that voters will find them appealing and, deep down, they believe that they can and should win the free media debate. More experience may produce more skepticism, but most never stop trying. It is the nature of politics and politicians.

Having suggested that the impact of newspaper coverage of statewide candidate campaigns will likely register between minimal and modest, our initial caveats must be remembered there will be exceptions, and even modest impacts can make the difference in close races.

One such impact is in the early going, which should not be defined as announcement day, but as the first day of public life. Those who are even just contemplating running in some distant election must work hard to build name identification (10 points in the public opinion polls can be worth more than $500,000) and to begin cultivating positive public images and productive relationships with key reporters. Public images conveyed through newspapers over substantial periods of time can be critically important as insiders — and to a lesser extent, the general public — size up a candidate's ability to mount a winning campaign. The "working press" especially well-respected newspaper reporters, will, in large part, define that level of viability. "They can become," says Democratic consultant Darry Sragow, a "bulletin board for political insiders." Candidate handicapping in major newspapers can determine who runs and who doesn't; who gets "into the mix," and who doesn't; and, above all, who finds their fund-raising calls returned and who doesn't.

"Good" stories — especially editorials — about a candidate's strengths, positive poll standing, or viability quickly find their way to the campaign copying and fax machines. (When this writer, for example, received the first two major editorials endorsing him for state insurance commissioner, a fund-raising letter to virtually all contributors, with the editorials enclosed, was in the mail within 24 hours).

Most consultants, it should be noted, believe that newspaper editorial endorsements, taken by themselves, have little direct influence on voters — except in "lower ticket" primary races when candidates are less well known and no clear partisan cues are available. Editorials and news stories, however, can be effectively employed in television and radio ad campaigns. Perhaps because voters have become so cynical about candidate 30-second messages, use of clips from respected newspapers seems to have become increasingly common in candidate commercials.

Newspaper reporters may also begin to shape the conventional wisdom of a campaign, defining candidate images, labels and cutting-edge issues that get picked up by others — including the electronic media. Most consultants accept, as a given, that many television and radio reporters and editors "follow" newspaper reporters. Images of candidates and stories generated by campaigns tend to flow from page to screen, thus magnifying their impact by substantially expanding the story's audience.

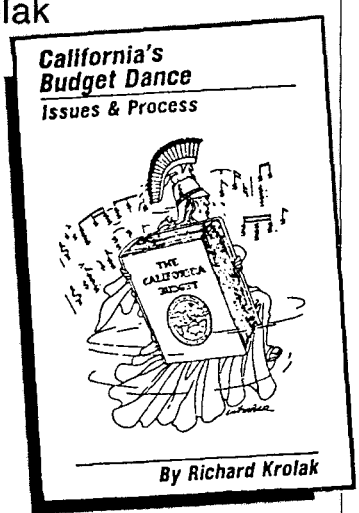
Given these realities, says Democratic consultant Richie Ross, candidates and consultants should work hard, focusing on newspaper reporters, to establish the right "handle" and to avoid getting branded with the wrong one. Once affixed, labels can be hard to remove. Mike Curb could never shake the label of "insubstantial." Gray Davis may be envied by some for his prodigious fund-raising abilities, but he will have a hard time shaking the image of a politician seeking power and dollars over policy goals. And George Deukmejian — perhaps out of desire — became renowned for a stubborn streak which would have been hard to shake even had he wanted to.

Such labels, images, or handles, suggest that the impact of newspapers can be subtle and long term. If the one-day story disappears, the image of a candidate and his or her opponent — born out of years of public visibility or just six weeks of campaigning — may play again and again. Properly fostered, it can begin to achieve the repetition necessary to make a significant dent in the public conscious-

New from *California Journal*!

California's Budget Dance: Issues and Process

By Richard Krolak



California's $50 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. Education, taxation, environmental protection, transportation, social services, local government support — you name it and the budget addresses it.

If you want to understand and influence the direction of these programs, the budget is the number one way to do it. But the process is murky and complicated, often taking place behind closed doors.

Now comes *California's Budget Dance*, a 128-page book that clearly outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now; anyone can be a force in the process and understand what's going on.

All this for only $7.95. To place your order call or write *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814: 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness. While the day-to-day battle may generate campaign anxiety, winning 20 of the 25 mini-media debates will be far less important than getting the media to continually convey one theme — experienced, non-politician, backed by grassroots groups, prone to flip-flop, extremist, and so forth — which, hopefully, will reinforce the image to be conveyed in paid media efforts.

And, most important, some stories can run for days and days — and the impact of these can be anything but modest. Breaking exposes — especially those that touch on ethics issues — can be the worst, unravelling new and damaging revelations on a daily basis. Mike Curb's election efforts were badly undermined by questions concerning his past draft status, his original failure to register to vote, and his qualifications. March Fong Eu's chances of "moving up" were torpedoed by a series of stories focusing on difficulties regarding disclosure of her husband's business dealings. Tom Bradley, originally expected to win reelection as mayor of Los Angeles by a landslide in 1989, barely survived a scandal regarding personal financial dealings.

Occasionally such ongoing, unfolding stories will be positive in nature. Dianne Feinstein, for example, may have reaped great benefits from the series of stories that followed her meteoric rise in the polls. Those stories, focusing increased attention on the candidate, seemed to generate a momentum of their own, almost imbuing the candidate with an image of dynamism and change. Movement in polls and perception of the candidate became one and the same.

But, for the most part, stories that run for days, stories that have the greatest impact, will be stories that hurt — stories of disclosure, ethics, special-interest campaign financing and campaign mistakes. Journalists gravitate towards controversy. It may be the controversy of healthy debate, but it's more likely to be the controversy of mistakes, wrongdoing or something someone didn't want known. The news, says Clint Reilly, is almost always about negative happenings. For this reason, a powerful media story is likely to be a negative media story.

And for this reason, while managers, consultants and candidates continue to seek positive newspaper exposure, they place considerable emphasis on promoting and creating negative stories about opponents and on avoiding the ongoing negative story about their own campaign. One almost gets the impression that — when it comes to newspaper exposure for their own candidate — many consultants might consider neutrality a victory. As Reilly points out, especially in a campaign which will present a significant paid media effort, one goal of a free media strategy is to minimize the "dissonance" that might get in the way of the paid media message. The consultant, Reilly suggests, knows that it is the paid media that will create the positive image the candidate wants to generate. But given the media's tendency — and the opposition's efforts — to emphasize negatives, the consultant's prime concern may be that the free media fight will undermine the impact of the paid media effort. Thus, neutrality in the free media, defined in terms of maximum room for the paid media to influence the voter, may seem like a positive compromise. To have your paid media work more persuasively than your opponent's is one well-paved road to victory.

But does the media itself encourage negative campaigning? Views differ on the subject. Some believe that the increased use of the negative stems from the cynicism of voters, who are more prone to accept negative than positive messages about political candidates. Candidates and consultants also realize that the negative story is the one more likely to play for more than a day. The print media, according to this theory, are just the innocent medium through which candidates make their best appeals to voters.

Others, however, place more responsibility and blame on print reporters and their editors. Candidates quickly learn that new proposals on oil clean-up funds are likely to generate less press than an attack on an opponent for accepting contributions from Mobil or Chevron. The "positive story is not a controversial story," says consultant Harvey Englander, who believes, like many others, that the print media's appetite for the negative is a primary reason for the domination of that campaign mode.

Hoffenblum places particular responsibility on editors. Journalists want their by-line in print, he notes, and they quickly find out that controversy — generally in the form of negative stories — is the way to get it there.

Whichever view is correct, it is likely that print journalists and editors — especially those working for major newspapers — could, if they wished, dramatically reduce the amount of negative campaigning common today. These journalists and editors set the tone for campaigns and candidates. Even those skeptical about the impact of the print media labor over every word and innuendo. More coverage of substantive policy analysis offered by candidates, and reduced coverage of relatively petty negative attacks would send a sharp signal that no candidate or consultant would miss or ignore.

In the end, perhaps, a final impact-related distinction emerges — that of the head and heart. When coldly calculating the impact on voters, most consultants view newspapers as having only a modest impact on most statewide campaigns. They may perceive newspapers as important in achieving certain specific campaign objectives, and as a means of aiding paid media efforts. Additionally, they never forget that campaigns can be won by handfuls of votes. But unless some dramatic — usually negative — story or event intrudes on the campaign, they believe that the quantity and nature of newspaper coverage may render it unlikely to directly impact the decisions of many voters.

But there is a heart to a campaign, as well as a head, and it seems to compel a different finding. Candidates, their staffs, and others close to them, may often be heavily influenced by newspaper campaign coverage. And even when we acknowledge that the direct, tangible impact of that coverage on the average voter is only modest, how does one gauge the movement of influence from insiders (friends, strategists, contributors, etc.) who are uniquely influenced by the print media, to the general voting public? Political scientists have been writing about this movement of influence for years, but it remains hard to pin down.

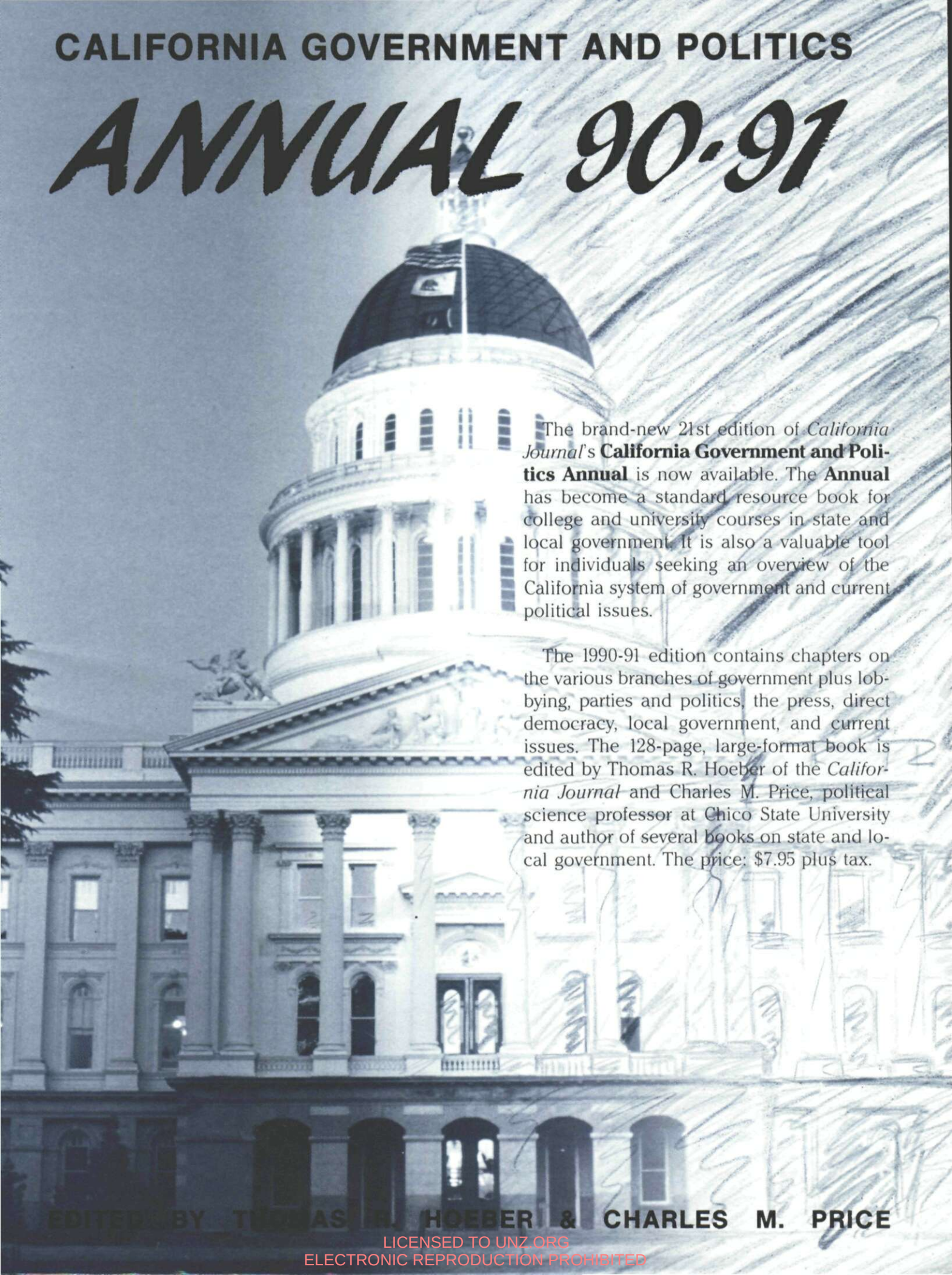
Moreover, there remains a lingering, historically-based perception that only the coldest of political hearts can ignore: Even in the age of television there is something uniquely powerful in the written political word. It may be a case of quality over quantity, or of substance over image, but many still believe that there is something richer, more respectable, perhaps even more influential, in the written word than in what we get on "film at 11."

Those who care the most, then, and those making more thoughtful and more value- or emotion-laden judgments, may be the most impacted by what appears on page three, or even on page 20. The influence of those pages on election outcomes may seem to pale before that of saturation advertising in the campaign's final days, but it is there. Neither the head, and certainly not the heart, of the campaign, will ignore it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

ANNUAL 90-91



The brand-new 21st edition of *California Journal*'s **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1990-91 edition contains chapters on the various branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, the press, direct democracy, local government, and current issues. The 128-page, large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $7.95 plus tax.

EDITED BY THOMAS R. HOEBER & CHARLES M. PRICE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

The Middle East

"I've always said you get things done in our system either through leadership or crisis," said House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta, a Carmel Valley Democrat. "We certainly have a helluva lot of crises facing us."

THAT WAS PANETTA'S APT SUMMARY OF THE mood as Congress returned from summer vacation to a frenzied autumn in a capital transformed by the confrontation in the Middle East.

Suddenly, Congress' backlog of supposedly urgent unfinished business — from clean-air legislation to the savings-and-loan scandal to the long struggle to reduce the federal deficit — faded into subsidiary roles. With thousands of American lives, the map of the Middle East and the world oil supply at stake, attention was riveted on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and President George Bush's massive mobilization of U.S. troops to the Saudi Arabian desert.

From the beginning, many in Congress expressed doubt about how long Americans would be patient with a standoff in the desert — and they wondered whether cheers for the president's tough stand would turn to jeers if American soldiers came home in body bags. But there was no mistaking the initial instinct to rally around a president in a time of international crisis. Bush's approval ratings soared.

Among Republicans, the only murmurs of dissent came from a few prominent conservatives — including Pat Buchanan and Jeanne Kirkpatrick — who doubted that fundamental American interests were endangered by a marauding despot from Baghdad. For these conservatives, the reaction represented a return to a Republican tradition of isolationism now that the Communist threat no longer animates their hawkish tendencies. Whatever the merits of their argument, it was certainly ironic to hear eager Cold Warriors such as Buchanan complaining that Bush was being trigger-happy and militaristic.

By contrast, Democrats have endured an image as wimpish doves for much of the last generation. Apparently determined not to be seen as weak-spirited in this confrontation, Democratic leaders of Congress rushed to the microphones to condemn Hussein and support Bush. Along with the vows of patriotic support, however, many Democrats hinted at doubts and demurs. That was doubly so among the particularly liberal California Democratic delegation to Congress.

The "yes-but" tone was captured by Los Angeles Democrat Mel Levine during an interview on a Washington television station in early September.

"It's important," Levine said, "that people around the country understand that those of us in Congress — Democrats and Republicans alike — support, certainly in general terms and to a considerable extent specifically, what the president and the administration's been doing."

Levine and other California Democrats questioned whether the administration has done enough to make other nations convert their statements of support for U.S. policy into the tangible backing of money and front-line troops.

"I don't believe the world can allow a dictator, a tyrant, to march into another country and take it over," said Representative Barbara Boxer, a Democrat from San Francisco and Marin County. "It was very necessary to respond quickly. But now that we did, it's time to stress international aspects of the entire operation — including the ground forces."

Others said their constituents were skeptical about the long-range purpose of the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia.

"Let's hope we don't put troops in Saudi Arabia who will never leave because it would be in the interest of the oil companies," said Representative Nancy Pelosi, also a San Francisco Democrat.

Even among the California Democrats, there were variations on the theme of skeptical support for the president.

Representative Don Edwards of San Jose, dean of the California congressional delegation, said, "I'm not at all sure it is up to us to go around the world stopping every tyrant who comes along. In this case, we're doing it for oil."

Edwards, who was one of few members of Congress to flatly oppose the U.S. invasion of Panama, said that the legislative branch shirked its constitutional roll by clamoring to embrace Bush's mobilization against Hussein. It was reminiscent, he said, of Congress' passage of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which gave President Lyndon Johnson a blank check to escalate the Vietnam War.

"People who ask tough questions don't get elected leaders of the House and Senate," Edwards scoffed. "We're not getting paid to be cheerleaders."

By contrast, Democrat Tom Lantos of Burlingame urged Bush to add to his stated goals the "complete dismantling of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological [warfare] capabilities because this regime has clearly demonstrated they are ready to use anything they have."

FOR YEARS LANTOS HAD DEMANDED THAT THE United States take tough action against Hussein. Prior to the invasion of Kuwait, the Bush administration attempted to be conciliatory toward the Iraqi ruler in the vain hope that he could be coaxed into moderation.

While most members of Congress were still pinning their hopes on diplomacy and an economic blockade, Lantos was warning that the United States had to do whatever was required to defang Hussein as a real threat. "If the blockade cannot be made to work well," he said, "then I think the military option is the only realistic one that remains."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

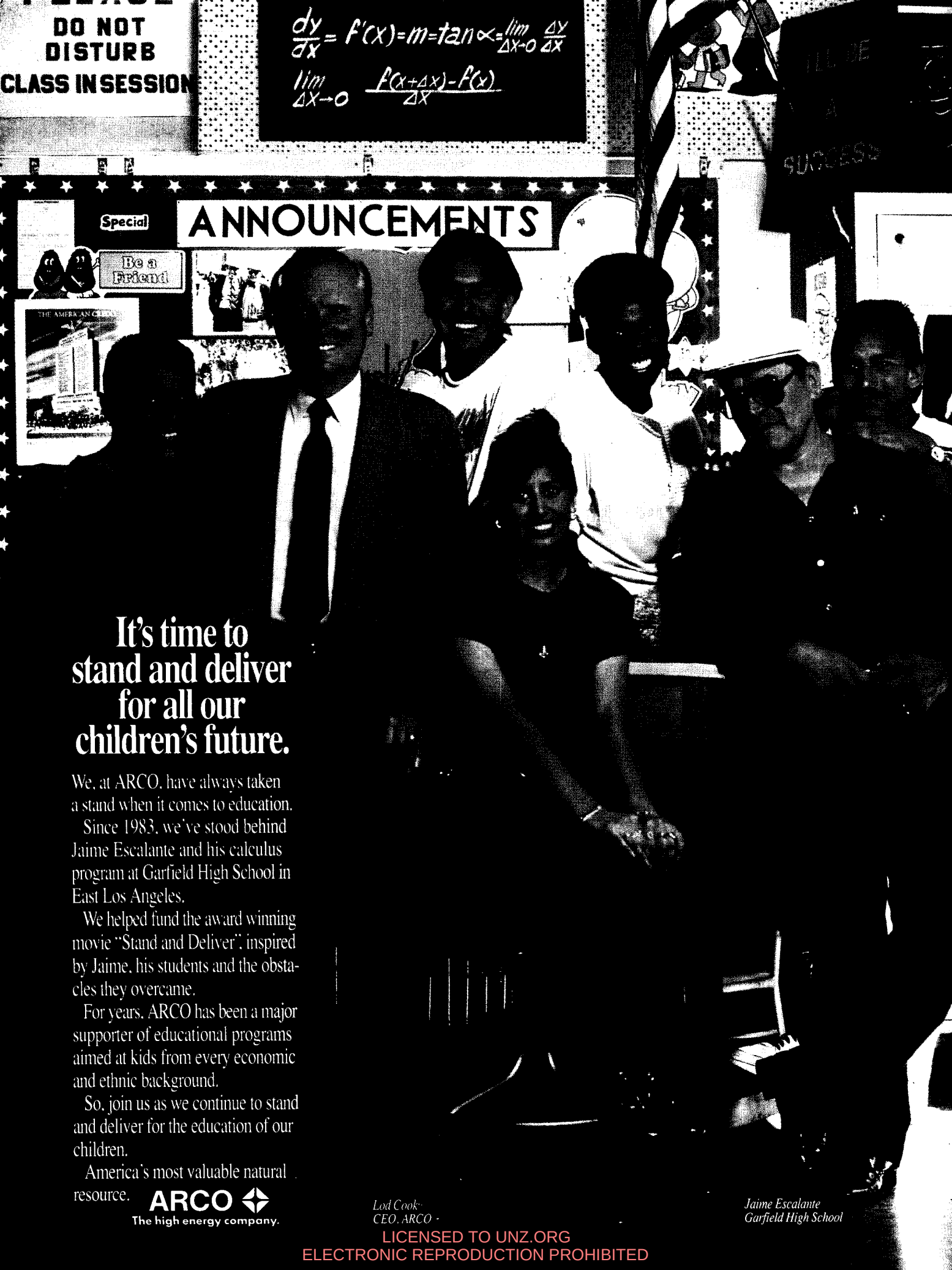
Check It Out!

You'll find many familiar brand names in this shopping cart. A lot of them probably appear in your own cart at the supermarket each week. But it may surprise you to learn that all of these products and even more are brought to you by the same family of companies. Philip Morris markets high-quality consumer products under more than 365 brand names, operates plants in over 350 U.S. cities and creates jobs for more than 157,000 people worldwide.

Familiar names from the Philip Morris family, committed to the production of quality products while generating economic growth.

PHILIP MORRIS
COMPANIES INC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



It's time to stand and deliver for all our children's future.

We, at ARCO, have always taken a stand when it comes to education.

Since 1983, we've stood behind Jaime Escalante and his calculus program at Garfield High School in East Los Angeles.

We helped fund the award winning movie "Stand and Deliver", inspired by Jaime, his students and the obstacles they overcame.

For years, ARCO has been a major supporter of educational programs aimed at kids from every economic and ethnic background.

So, join us as we continue to stand and deliver for the education of our children.

America's most valuable natural resource.

ARCO
The high energy company.

Lod Cook
CEO, ARCO

Jaime Escalante
Garfield High School

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED